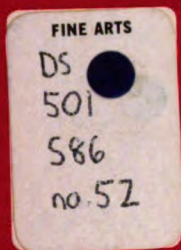


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THE HAN VIEW OF COMETS

by

Michael Loewe

The three Han tombs of Ma-wang-tui¹ will long rank among the most important archaeological discoveries of China in recent years. Quite apart from their value as examples of pit graves constructed in central China, their contents included source material of the first order of importance for students of Chinese religion and art, literature and science. The fortunate occurrence of an inscribed strip in tomb no. 3, of the year 168 BC, provides a precise indication of dating; tomb no. 1, which contained the incorrupt body of the Countess of Tai and the famous painting that was interred with her as a talisman, was constructed shortly afterwards.

For students of Chinese palaeography, textual history and literature, the 51 items of manuscript text found in tomb no. 3 are of especial value. They include the first finds of texts written on silk, other than the single piece that derived from Ch'u during the *Chan-kuo* period. Some of the texts from Ma-wang-tui are unique; others correspond partially with the received versions of works such as the *Chan-kuo ts'ê*. Some are copies of well-known texts which were subsequently subjected to editing and standardisation, and thus suggest how the work of scholars and commentators such as Liu Hsiang or Wang Pi may have affected the transmission of earlier versions.

Above all the content of the 51 items is extremely rich and varied, ranging from philosophy and political theory to historical record. There are also manuals on mantic practices, handbooks on medical subjects and astronomy, and a few maps. In presenting a preliminary account of part of one manuscript, which concerns both science and divination, I am glad to acknowledge the encouragement and help of Professor Nathan Sivin.

In the following pages I shall attempt to describe certain features of the manuscript and the terms which it uses to denote comets. These will be compared with literary usage, and particular attention will be paid to a comet known as the 'Banner of Ch'ih-yu'. After considering the Chinese view of the origin of comets, there will follow a general assessment of the value of the manuscript.

(A) The silken manuscript now entitled *T'ien-wen ch'i-hsiang tsa chan*¹

The manuscripts found at tomb no. 3 Ma-wang-tui included a large number of fragments of a silken document that had originally measured 150 by 48 centimetres.¹) Despite the destruction of some parts and the obliteration of all signs of writing in others, it has been possible to reconstruct the original form of the document, whose main part consisted of six horizontal bands or registers. Each one of these bands was subdivided vertically, in columns, with between 20 and 50 entries each, and the total number of entries on the manuscript, either complete or fragmentary, amounted to about 300. The entries comprised diagrams and text, inscribed in black or red, or in a combination of both colours. Below these six registers there was a further set of entries on the manuscript. These were arrayed in three bands, horizontally, each of 13 to 26 entries with text, but without diagrams. 57 entries survive from this part of the manuscript.

The text and diagrams are concerned with the identification of certain climatic and astronomical features and the prognostications that are appropriate to each one. The features under examination fall into four types which are generally, but not precisely, grouped together in different parts of the document. From the upper to the lower registers, the entries concern:

- (a) clouds; various shapes of cloud are illustrated as animals, plants or artefacts
- (b) vapours or emanations of energy;²) these include mirages,³) shown by diagrams of trees and some indefinable objects, and mists, which are shown in various configurations of circle or line without explanatory text; some of the entries are for rainbows.
- (c) stars and constellations
- (d) comets; there are altogether 29 entries (now designated as nos. 612–640), which all except one are complete (i.e., no. 632, which has a diagram but no text). This section has been described as the most complete and valuable part of the manuscript; it is the only part for which photographs and transcriptions have been published so far.

The terminus *ad quem* for the manuscript can be taken at 168 BC, the date assigned to tomb no. 3 Ma-wang-tui.⁴) Internal references in the text to the states of Han Wei and Chao⁵ lead to the inference that it cannot have originated before 403 BC, when those states emerged at the dissolution of Chin. ⁶) The script of the manuscript is early, or proto, *li-shu*⁷ type, being similar to that of other manuscripts from the same tomb, and retaining some characteristics of seal writing. The appearance of the character *pang*⁸ in the text cannot necessarily be accepted as a reason for dating the manuscript before the reign of the first Han emperor (Liu Pang⁹ reigned 202–195 BC), as it appears in other divinatory texts that were certainly written during the Han dynasty.¹⁰)

Ma-wang-tui itself lies well within the territory of the pre-imperial kingdom of Ch'u¹¹ and the kingdom of Ch'ang-sha¹² which was established at the outset of the

Han empire.⁶⁾ Internal references treat the name Ch'u with a certain degree of prominence and many of the artefacts and the artistic motifs of the tomb's furnishings bear the characteristic imprint of the culture and mythology that is associated with that state and the Yangtse River valley. It may be suggested, tentatively, that the manuscript derived from that part of China, perhaps within a century or so before the foundation of the Ch'in empire in 221 BC.

(B) The place of the manuscript in Chinese astronomy and divination

Apart from the 40 diagrams of physical exercises or callisthenic postures of another manuscript,⁷⁾ the document under study is the only record of the period found so far which includes illustrations of a nature that would now be regarded as scientific. That such diagrams not infrequently formed parts of early Chinese writings may be seen from the entries in the bibliographical list of the *Han shu*, and in the references of much later catalogues to the survival of a text but the loss of its accompanying illustrations.⁸⁾ Whereas the diagrams of callisthenics include no more than a title or caption, the texts that accompany the illustrations of meteorological and related phenomena, of stars and of comets are considerably longer and more informative.

The manuscript may be considered together with a further text found at Ma-wang-tui, also on silk, which reports the times and locations of the rising and setting of the planets over the years 246–177 BC.⁹⁾ The two documents constitute the earliest surviving original Chinese writings on astronomical matters; for the works that are ascribed to the two famous astronomers Kan and Shih¹⁰⁾, of the *Chan-kuo* period, have long since disappeared, except for the citations preserved in later writings. The basic evidence of the observations and calculations made by Han, or earlier astronomers may otherwise be found in the lengthy treatises of the *Standard Histories*, and in a few diagrams painted on the walls or ceilings of tombs.¹⁰⁾

Both this document and the record of planetary movements must surely result from cumulative, steady and sustained observation and study; for it is not possible that a single observer could have seen and noted all the phenomena that are recorded so meticulously. The manuscript forms a powerful testimony to the capacity of Chinese observers in the centuries that preceded the imperial age and to the sophisticated nature of their records. It is difficult to believe that the manuscript under consideration was the first of its kind, compiled without the support of earlier diagrams or descriptive material. The suggestion that earlier documents of this type had existed previously is partly sustained by a few citations from lost texts that are cited in the *Shih-chi* or *Han shu*.¹¹⁾ Records such as the *Tso chuan* report the observation of comets from as early as 613 BC.¹²⁾

In addition to recording the results of systematic observation, the manuscript presents the prognostications appropriate to the phenomena that are described.

In doing so it introduces a mantic element into the subject. Now, whereas a clear distinction may be drawn between science and divination at their extreme points, there remains a wide middle ground between the two wherein both activities merge and affect one another. This principle may be seen in the study of the major methods of divination practised in China, whether with bones or shells and fire, or by the manipulation of stalks and the *I ching*. In each case the intuitive presentiments of a seer become subjected to the intellectual processes of standardisation, regularisation and explanation. Similarly geomancy (*feng-shui*) seems in its origin to have been based on two approaches; that of the seer who unconsciously divines the existence of the unperceived properties that inform a site, and that of the observer whose graticulated compass enables him to relate a site and its qualities to the measured rhythms and changes of the universe. The manuscript from Ma-wang-tui likewise takes account of both the intuitive and the intellectual approaches; for it presents the results of observation together with guidance with which to interpret the inherent meaning therein on grounds which we do not yet comprehend. It may also be remarked that the treatment of stars and comets together with features of climate and atmosphere in the same text forms a valuable link in tracing the antecedents of *feng-shui* during the Han period.¹³⁾

(C) Terms used to denote comets in (i) the manuscript and
(ii) the Standard Histories

(i) *In the manuscript*

The text that accompanied 28 of the 29 diagrams of comets¹⁴⁾ is in general of the same form, comprising the name and title of the particular type of comet that is displayed, short remarks about the duration of its appearance, and a general prognostication of the events likely to ensue. A number of the names are botanical terms. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly some of the names are used to define two or even three different types of comet; in these cases the prognostications, though phrased somewhat differently, are largely identical in purport. At least eight of the total number of 20 different names appear in literature.¹⁵⁾ A large proportion of the prognostications concern military fortunes, as do those for comets whose observation is recorded in Han literature.¹⁶⁾ It may also be remarked that, certainly at a later date, divination which depended on another type of natural feature (i.e., the behaviour of the winds: *feng chiao*¹⁷⁾ was also largely linked with military matters.¹⁸⁾ Some of the prognostications of the manuscript are attributed to named masters or seers, i.e. Pei-kung or Yao¹⁹⁾; these are otherwise unknown.

The names of the comets that are listed on the manuscript follow (for a full transcription of the texts, see *Wen wu* 1978.2 pp.5–6).

Figure	Name of comet™ (B signifies 'botanical')	GSR	Notes (M signifies a military prognostication)
612	Ch'ih kuan, red drops	158f	attributed to Pei-kung; M
613	Po kuan, white drops	158f	attributed to Pei-kung
614	T'ien hsiao (shuo), the flute of Heaven	1149e'	attributed to Yao
615	T'ien hsiao (shuo), the flute of Heaven	1149e'	attributed to Pei-kung
616 B?	Ch'an, (magnolia?)	612a	see GSR 612b
617	Sui hsing, broom star	527a	M (for the reading <i>sui</i> rather than <i>hui</i> , see GSR)
618	Po kuan, white drops	158f	
619	Ch'ih kuan, red drops	158f	M
620 B	P'u sui, reed broom	102n'	
621 B	P'u sui hsing, reed broom star	102n'	
622 B	Kan sui, straw broom	139j	M
623 B	Kan sui, straw broom	139j	attributed to Pei-kung
624	Chou sui, sweeper broom	1087a	M
625	Li sui, whetstone-broom	340a	attributed to Pei-kung; M
626 B	Chu sui, bamboo broom	1019a	
627 B	Chu sui, bamboo broom	1019a,	attributed to Pei-kung
628 B	Hao sui, artemisia broom	1129q	M
629 B	Hao sui, artemisia broom	1129q	attributed to Pei-kung
630 B	Chan sui, thatch broom	618i	M
631 B	Chan sui, thatch broom	618i	attributed to Pei-kung
632			
633 B	Chan (? sui), thatch broom	618i	M; reading doubtful
634 B?	Shen hsing	658a	M. See GSR 658f., and p. 10 below; WW 1978.2.26 identifies as mulberry pips; Morohashi 14082 as mushroom (in the <i>Po-wu chih</i> ™).
635	(Ch'iang) hsing	(727)	M
636	(Na) hsing	(695)	M
637	Kan sui, shield broom	139a	M; see nos. 622, 623
638 B	Chan sui hsing, thatch broom star	618i	attributed to Pei-kung
639	Ch'ih-yu ch'i, the Banner of Ch'ih-yu	793a 996a 952v	M; see pp. L below
640	Ti, pheasant	1124a	M

(ii) *In the Standard Histories*

The compilers of the Standard Histories for the Han period noted the appearance of comets in two different ways. They feature in the chapters of Imperial Annals, along with accounts of other phenomena, in so far as they were thought to have a bearing on imperial destinies and dynastic continuity. The references in these chapters are terse, and they are not usually accompanied by comment or prognostication. Comets are however treated more fully in the special chapters that concern the movements of the heavenly bodies or the strange phenomena of the universe. In those chapters the reports of comets' appearances are frequently followed by interpretation or comments submitted by notable or distinguished men of letters. Examples of reports are given in the Appendix below.

The observations that are reported for the western Han period are not always dated precisely. Sometimes two or more references may pertain to one and the same incident. In some cases it is not always possible to determine whether observations which were separated by a short period were in fact concerned with the same event; and it is possible that some reports may have derived from purposeful fabrication that was undertaken for political motives.¹⁹⁾ For these reasons it is difficult to count the number of different appearances that were recorded, but it may be estimated that possibly as many as 30 separate incidents featured and were observed between 204 BC and AD 22.¹⁹⁾ One of the observations (for 12 BC) can be identified with confidence as Halley's comet, and the sighting of 87 BC was probably concerned with its immediately preceding occurrence. Two other cases (for 135 BC and 44 BC) may perhaps be linked with observations of comets recorded in other cultures, i.e., in one case for the comet said to have attended the birth of Mithridates, and in the other for the one that appeared close to the murder of Julius Caesar. A sighting of AD 13 may correspond to a report mentioned by Dio Cassius; one for AD 185 has been identified as a supernova.²⁰⁾

A variety of terms, which will be considered immediately below, were used in the Standard Histories to denote these events. Whichever term is used, such details as are given in the record are of the same type, i.e., they concern the constellation in or near which the phenomenon was seen; its subsequent movements; its colour, and its size. This last detail is given either by measurement in feet, however that may be interpreted, or by comparison with material objects. How far the Chinese were able to distinguish at this stage between comets, novae and supernovae must remain open to question; but the basic identification of the phenomena as comets can be accepted, by reason of the attendant details that are reported, the correspondence between some of the Chinese reports with those from elsewhere and the evidence of the manuscript from Ma-wang-tui.

Six expressions are used in the *Shih-chi*, *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* to denote

comets. As it is by no means certain, and indeed unlikely, that the Chinese authors of these works discriminated between the terms in direct correlation to differences of observed phenomena, it would be anachronistic to do so in order to satisfy the conclusions of modern astronomy. It would seem likely that the compilers or authors of the different chapters of the histories chose terms which suited contemporary usage, which may well have changed in the course of centuries. More expressions appear in the manuscript from Ma-wang-tui than in the Standard Histories, where some terms are used interchangeably and with a lesser degree of refinement.

The terms used in the *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* are *hsing po*²⁰, *ch'ang hsing*²¹ *p'eng hsing*²², *su*²³, *k'o hsing*²⁴ and *liu hsing*²⁵; from the considerations which follow it may be concluded that the first five of these were used synonymously. *Hsing po* differs from the four other terms which include the character *hsing*. For in those expressions, *hsing* is qualified by the modifiers *ch'ang*, *p'eng*, *k'o* and *liu*. In *hsing po*, where the order is reversed, the character *po* fulfils a verbal function, and it has been suggested that the word designated the 'burst' in the heavens, from which comets were believed to have emerged.²¹) *Liu hsing* is perhaps to be distinguished from the other terms, with which it is not interchanged.

The indiscriminate use of some of these terms may be illustrated as follows.

(1) The *Ch'un-ch'iu* records occasions of *hsing po* for the years 613, 525 and 482BC.²²) This information is repeated in the *Shih-chi*, where, however, the term *sui* or *sui hsing* replaces *hsing po*. In the corresponding chapter of the *Han shu* the same incidents are described, and the comments that are cited thereto are couched in terms of both *hsing po* and *sui*.²³)

(2) The *Kung-yang* commentary to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* defines the term *hsing po* as *sui* (for 613 BC).²⁴)

(3) The *Shih-chi* does not apparently use the term *po*. In contexts wherein it appears in the *Han shu*, the corresponding passage of the *Shih-chi* writes *fu*.²⁵)

(4) There are occasions when the *Shih-chi* uses the terms *sui* and *ch'ang hsing* in respect of the same incident.²⁶)

(5) Both the *Han shu* and the *Hou Han shu* use *hsing po* and *sui* in respect of the same incident.²⁷)

Terms used to denote comets: examples of interchange

Date of incident	<i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i>	<i>Kung-yang chuan</i>	<i>Shih-chi</i>	<i>Han-shu</i> Annals Treatise Biography	<i>Hou Han-shu</i> Annals	<i>Hsü Han-shu</i> Treatise
613 BC	hsing po	sui	sui	hsing po		
155				hsing po sui		
154			sui, ch'ang hsing			
147			sui	hsing po sui		
135				hsing po ch'ang sui hsing		
49				hsing po k'o hsing		
AD 39					hsing po	sui

(6) The observation for 135 BC is recorded in three separate passages in the *Han shu* as *hsing po*, *sui* and *ch'ang hsing* respectively.²⁹⁾

(7) *K'o hsing* does not seem to appear in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* or the *Shih-chi*,³⁰⁾ but it is used in the *Han shu* interchangeably with *hsing po*,³¹⁾ or, sometimes, to describe certain sightings uniquely.³²⁾

(8) Perhaps the least common of all the terms is *p'eng hsing*, which does not appear to feature in the *Shih-chi*. Its two appearances in the *Han shu* probably refer to incidents that are described elsewhere as *hsing po*.³²⁾

While it may be accepted that *k'o hsing* is used in the *Han shu* to denote a comet, the evidence for the use of *liu hsing* is far less certain. This expression does not appear in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*; in its three occurrences in the *Shih-chi* it is used as a means of general description rather than as a direct identification of a particular phenomenon that can be defined as a comet.³³⁾ Of the seven references in the *Han shu*, three³⁴⁾ refer to an event which was observed in the ninth month of 32 BC. It is possible that this is to be identified with the sighting of the *hsing po* for the first month of that year, and the terms whereby the *liu hsing* is described are comparable with those that are used to describe a *hsing po*. Two of the other references could possibly concern comets;³⁵⁾ one other is indecisive;³⁶⁾ and in one context, where the *liu hsing* is described as being the size of the moon and accompanied by a number of other heavenly bodies, the term has been translated as 'meteor' and explained as a fireball.³⁷⁾

The bibliographical list which is incorporated in the *Han shu* includes three

items whose titles mention the expressions that are under study.³⁰⁾ In one, *k'o* [*hsing*] and *liu* [*hsing*] are both specified; another mentions *sui* and *k'o* [*hsing*]; and in the third *liu hsing* are isolated. The titles of the first two of these works also include references to the five planets, and it is to be noted that the treatise on astrology in the *Hsü Han shu*³¹⁾ lists planetary movements together with phenomena that are denoted as *sui*, *k'o hsing* or *liu hsing*. In general the inference from these titles is inconclusive; it could possibly be argued that they support the suggestion that for the western Han period Chinese writers regarded *k'o hsing* as being in the same category as *hsing po*, *ch'ang hsing*, *p'eng hsing* and *sui*, while retaining *liu hsing* for something that may have been of a different nature.

The foregoing considerations tend to show that the writers and observers of western Han were not bound by the distinctions suggested by Wen Ying³²⁾, who was writing towards the beginning of the third century AD. In commenting on the *Han shu*'s use of the expression *ch'ang hsing*³³⁾ for an observation of 172 BC, Wen Ying discriminated between *hsing po*, *sui* and *ch'ang hsing* as being 'bushy', 'broomlike' and 'long', according to the shape of the light-rays of the objects observed; but, as has been seen, it would be difficult to sustain this distinction in the references that are made to comets for the western Han period.

For observations of the eastern Han period, we find that *p'eng hsing* is apparently not used, and there is only one reference to *ch'ang hsing*, which is seen in the treatise on astrology.³⁴⁾ The chapters of imperial annals of the *Hou Han shu* use the term *hsing po*, but not *sui*; and there are twelve occasions of events reported between AD 39 and 188 which the treatise describes as *sui* and the imperial annals as *hsing po*.³⁵⁾ The treatise uses the term *hsing po* for an observation of AD 22, and for those that are dated between 193 and 218; for those final years it does not use *sui*. There are three cases wherein both the imperial annals and the treatise describe the same event as *k'o hsing*,³⁶⁾ and 27 reports of *liu hsing* in the treatise are not mentioned in the imperial annals. In two passages the biographies of the *Hou Han shu* include the comments submitted by statesmen on the appearance of comets; they use the somewhat loose expression *sui po*.³⁷⁾

Professor Schafer suggests³⁸⁾ that a basic and early distinction between tailless comets (aphelial) and tailed comets (perihelial) was reflected in the terms *po* and *sui*; how far this distinction can be verified in Han usage may perhaps remain open to question. At a much later stage of Chinese intellectual history, Ma Tuan-lin³⁹⁾ arranged his chapters on astronomical phenomena in such a way that *hsing po*, *sui hsing* and *ch'ang hsing* are taken together, while *liu hsing* and *k'o hsing* are treated in a separate section.⁴⁰⁾ In the manuscript from Ma-wang-tui, the term *sui* features not only in no. 617 (in the expression *sui hsing*), but also in a number of other entries, where it is modified by words that denote plants or shrubs (e.g., entries nos. 620–631, 633, 637 and 638). It may be suggested that originally the term *sui*, with its vivid imagery, was used to denote a particular and recognisable type of comet; that it was subsequently modified, to allow for finer distinctions;

and that it finally came to be used as an expression for comets in general.

A number of the terms which designate comets on the manuscript (and, as will be seen, in literary passages) are botanical. This need occasion no surprise, in view of the obvious comparison between the diagrams of the manuscript and the shapes of the plants. Of the terms which have been encountered so far in literary passages, *fu* is interpreted as meaning 'bushy', and *p'eng* as the name of a plant.⁴⁶) The standard commentary to the *Hsü Han shu*, of Liu Chao⁴⁷, carries an interesting citation that is ascribed to Han Yang⁴⁸, to the effect that 'the shapes of comets are like those of bamboo brooms, or the branches of trees, and there is no regular constancy in their size. Long ones last a long time and their damage is severe; short ones last a short time and their damage is more limited'.⁴⁹) It will be seen above that a number of the terms of the manuscript have been identified with particular plants, i.e., *ch'an*^{4a} as ?magnolia, *p'u*^{4b} as rush, reed or willow, *kan*^{4c} as straw, *hao*^{4d} as artemisia, *chan*^{4e} as thatch and *chen* (or *shen*)^{4f} as mushroom. Similarly *p'ou*^{4g} which, as will be seen immediately, appears in literary passages, has been identified as mistletoe.^{4h})

The treatises on astrology in the *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* name several objects which came into being as a result of the aberrations of some of the planets.⁴⁹) Thus, from the strange behaviour of Jupiter there emerge T'ien-p'ou⁴ⁱ, *sui-hsing*^{4k}, T'ien-ch'an^{4l} and T'ien-chiang^{4m}; *sui-hsing* likewise emerge from the unaccountable behaviour of both Venus and Mercury. The manuscript from Ma-wang-tui confirms the conclusions reached by commentators that some of these objects are to be identified as comets. Thus, T'ien-ch'an can be identified with entry no. 616, which is entitled *ch'an*⁴ⁿ; and when the *Han shu* records, in a totally different passage,⁵⁰) that T'ien-ch'an appeared in 162 BC, we may suspect that the term denoted Halley's comet. In addition there are several references to Ch'an-chiang^{4o} which apparently describes a single phenomenon. The expression is seen in the *Ta-jen fu*^{4p} of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju^{4q}, where the seeker is envisaged as 'brandishing the comet ch'an-chiang as a standard'.⁵¹) It is also seen in the *Kan-ch'üan fu*^{4r} of Yang Hsiung^{4s}, where it denotes one of the heavenly bodies.⁵²) In addition the term denotes a comet in the *Hou Han shu*,⁵³) and it duly appears in the *Shuo-yüan*^{4t} of Liu Hsiang^{4u} as one of the objects produced by the aberration of the planets.⁵⁴) Elsewhere the expression T'ien-p'ou is used in an entirely different sense, to denote an area of the heavens.⁵⁵)

(D) The treatment of comets in the Standard Histories*

When the chapters of the *Shih-chi* and the *Han shu* report the appearance of a comet, they note its position in the heavens and the direction in which it was

* For examples of passages, see the Appendix.

moving; the length of time for which it was visible; its colour and its size, either in the general terms of 'extending over all or half the heavens', or, more precisely in terms of feet; such terms of measurement have yet to be fully explained. The treatises of the *Han shu* which concern astrology and strange phenomena include statements that are ascribed to famous figures such as Tung Chung-shu⁴⁶, Liu Hsiang⁴⁷, Liu Hsin⁴⁸ or Ku Yung⁴⁹, as comments made on the appearance of a comet. Curiously enough no comments are included from Ching Fang⁴² in this connection. Elsewhere in the *Han shu* his views are frequently quoted in relation to other strange occurrences; and citations from his works in the *Chin shu*⁵⁰ show that he had certainly not excluded comets from his investigation of natural phenomena.⁵¹) Sometimes the *Han shu* simply relates a subsequent historical event, leaving it to the reader to draw the obvious inference that the comet's appearance foreshadowed the incident in question, which was usually of a dynastic or political nature.⁵²) In addition the *Han shu* includes on at least three occasions a general statement to the effect that 'comets eliminate the old and inaugurate a new order'.⁵³) There are also a few tantalising citations from works that are now lost, such as the *Hsing chuan*⁵⁴, or the opinions of Shen Hsü [or Ju]⁵⁵. The question may naturally be raised whether such writings included material of the same form as that of the manuscript under study.⁵⁶)

The treatise on astrology in the *Hsü Han shu* reports planetary movements and observations of phenomena such as the appearance of comets. The text notes the size of the comet, sometimes in graphic terms (e.g., as large as a peach, a melon or an egg), or sometimes in terms of the measurement of the length or breadth of the tail (in feet). Occasionally it is stated that the comet's appearance was accompanied by a noise like that of thunder, and the comet is sometimes described in terms of colour (i.e., white, blue and yellow, red, green and white, red and yellow, blue and white, or yellow and white). Sometimes it is said that a comet broke into several fragments. The text of the treatise states in which part of the heavens the comet was sighted and reports its movements; it relates the area of the heavens in question to the corresponding and appropriate region on earth. Such a relationship is sometimes restricted to the terms of a prognostication that is given, usually from unnamed sources, or to the subsequent verification in terms of political and dynastic change.

The treatise includes the following general explanatory statement, following its report of the appearance of a comet in the eleventh month of AD 22:⁵⁷)

Disrupting stars [*po hsing*]⁵⁸ are the product of evil *ch'i*⁵⁹ and give rise to disorder and violence, by which they disrupt [*po*]⁶⁰ natural qualities of good [*te*]⁶¹; a disruption of such qualities is a sign of violence, a manifestation of darkness [*pu ming*]⁶². In addition [eight characters not understood] ... hence they are termed 'disrupters', an expression which implies that something has been injured and that something has been obstructed. Sometimes they are called

'broom-stars' [*sui hsing*]⁶⁰, the means of eliminating corruption and inaugurating a new order.

Liu Chao's comment to this passage includes two interesting citations, of which one has been reported above.⁶¹) The other is a note written by Sung Chün⁶² to a document entitled *Kou ming chüeh*⁶³; he writes of the existence of five types of 'broom', distinguished according to the five symbolical colours of the *wu hsing*, i.e., green, red, yellow, white and black.

(E) The Banner of Ch'ih-yu⁶⁴

The diagram that forms part of entry no. 639 of the manuscript is identified there as 'the Banner of Ch'ih-yu', and the prognostication that was appropriate to this particular type of comet reads: 'armies are without; they will return'. There is further information about this comet in literary sources.

Ch'ih-yu himself features as a hero, or a villain, of Chinese mythology who was involved in a number of escapades. Sometimes he is cited as a byword for the outbreak of violent conflict; sometimes he is described as one of the ministers who served Huang ti⁶⁵, the Yellow Emperor; at a later stage he became accepted as the God of War.⁶⁶)

The term 'Banner of Ch'ih-yu' is used to denote certain types of *ch'ü*⁶⁷ as well as a comet of a particular definable type. In the *Lü shih ch'un-ch'ü*⁶⁸) the term appears among a number of others that denote clouds or exhalations; but although the same passage refers to comets, the Banner of Ch'ih-yu does not feature in that connection. The *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*⁶⁹) cites a passage from a work which is entitled *Huang lan*⁷⁰; this recounts some of the consequences that followed the death of Ch'ih-yu at the hands of Huang ti and his subsequent burial. A form of popular worship grew up at his tomb, taking place in the tenth month of the year. In addition a red emanation which appeared at the tomb and resembled a bolt of deep red silk was popularly called the 'Banner of Ch'ih-yu'. Elsewhere, in an incident which is reported for AD 254, an emanation that was white was identified by Wang Su⁷¹ as the Banner; he added the prediction that its appearance meant trouble in the south-east.⁷²)

At least three passages refer to the appearance of a comet in 135 BC. The shortest of these, in the imperial annals of the *Han shu*,⁷³) reports that in the eighth month 'a comet appeared [*hsing po*] in the eastern quarter; it was long, extending throughout the entire sky'. In the chapter on the *wu hsing*,⁷⁴) the information is somewhat fuller; there was a comet (*hsing po*) in the northern quarter in the sixth month, and another (*ch'ang hsing*) in the eastern quarter in the eighth month. The text includes a prognostication that was given for the second appearance; this identified the comet as the 'Banner of Ch'ih-yu', which would be followed by royal military expeditions in all directions. The third reference is by no means as

precise as those that have been mentioned, but it may well concern the same incident. The *Shih-chi*⁷⁶⁾ alludes to two observations of Ch'ih-yu's Banner during the Yüan-kuang⁷⁷⁾ and Yüan-shou⁷⁸⁾ periods (i.e. 134–129 and 122–117 BC). The text adds that the length of the comet was such that it extended for half the sky.

The next appearance of a comet which was identified as the Banner is dated for AD 191, and again there are two separate references. The short entry in the imperial annals⁷⁹⁾ simply states that in the ninth month the comet appeared in the lunar mansions Chiao and K'ang⁸⁰⁾. The treatise, however, is more informative;⁸¹⁾ the comet is dated to the ninth month; it is described as being over ten foot long, and white, emerging from the south of Chiao and K'ang. The chapter includes a similar prognostication to the one seen in the treatise of the *Han shu*, i.e., that its appearance would be followed by military activity in all quarters. Finally, the *Hou Han shu* carries a passage in which a *liu hsing* was described by Su Ching⁸²⁾ as being like Ch'ih-yu's Banner.⁸³⁾

For attempts to describe the phenomenon we must turn in the first instance to an earlier text. According to the passage of the *Lü shih ch'ün-ch'iu* that has been cited above,⁸⁴⁾ the Banner was yellow above and white below. Here the text concerns the appearance of an emanation rather than a comet. Nevertheless it was cited as an authority by Chin Cho⁸⁵⁾ (fl.c. AD 208), in a comment to the *Han shu*.⁸⁶⁾ The text on which the comment is made carries part of a prognostication with which we are already familiar: 'the Banner of Ch'ih-yu, while being like a comet [*sui*], is curled at the rear, in the shape of a flag; when it is seen, those who are kings will undertake military expeditions in all directions'. The same passage recurs in the treatise on astrology in the *Chin shu*, with some further elaboration regarding the shape and colour of the comet.⁸⁷⁾

(F) Chinese views of the origin of comets

Reference has been made above to the statements of the *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* to the effect that certain named comets were produced thanks to the aberrations of the planets.⁸⁸⁾ A similar concept is voiced by Liu Hsiang⁸⁹⁾, whose interpretations of comets and their significance in dynastic terms are included in the *Han shu*. In a separate work, the *Shuo-yüan*⁹⁰⁾, he describes some of the features of the heavens in connection with prognostication. He names five comets which he regards as being the product of the waxing and the waning of the five planets, but he does not relate individual comets to particular planets. We have already encountered two of the comets which he names, i.e., the Banner of Ch'ih-yu and Ch'an-chiang.⁹¹⁾

The treatise on astrology of the *Chin shu*⁹²⁾ carries a long citation that is ascribed to Ching Fang⁹³⁾, a famous contemporary of Liu Hsiang who has good cause to be named among the foremost of Han scientific observers.⁹⁴⁾ The passage refers to a number of comets by name, eight of which appear in the manuscript from Ma-

wang-tui.⁹⁰) Ching Fang attributes their origins to the planets, and lists the Banner of Ch'ih-yu among the products of Mars. The same chapter of the *Chin shu* also carries a citation from a source which is named as *Ho t'u*.⁹¹) Here the comets are said to originate from the dissipation (*san*)⁹² of the planets; it is also suggested that the essence (*ching*)⁹³ of the planets may become comets; and the Banner of Ch'ih-yu is variously ascribed to Mars and Saturn. In a comment to the *Han shu*, Meng K'ang⁹⁴ (fl. c. 180–260) likewise identified the Banner of Ch'ih-yu as the essence of Mars.⁹⁵) The same concept is repeated in two short citations in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, from a work which is entitled *Ho t'u ch'i yao kou*.⁹⁶) According to one of these passages the five planets produce the five comets by a process of dissipation; the other passage states that the Banner of Ch'ih-yu originated in this way from Mars.

(G) The value and purpose of the manuscript

The manuscript that is under study reflects both the progress of scientific observation and the Chinese concern with divination. Its implications have a bearing on three topics: the importance of linear patterns in divination; the Chinese attitude towards the ordinary and the extraordinary movements in the world of nature; and the form of the earliest parts of the *Book of Changes*. Finally it may be asked what the motives were for the compilation of the document.

Comets are classified in the manuscript according to their linear shapes, and the prognostications follow suitably. An analogy is immediately suggested with the importance of the lines or patterns that were induced on turtles' shells or animals' bones, or the creation of a pattern of six lines by the cast of yarrow stalks. However, there is one difference between such patterns and those of the manuscript's diagrams. For whereas in the first two cases the patterns emerge only after purposeful human manipulation, the shapes of comets are provided by nature, for all to gaze at and admire. Other cases wherein Chinese divination takes account of natural rather than artificial lines may be seen in *feng-shu*⁹⁷, where the inherent patterns of the earth are regarded as the conductors of good or evil influences.

Divination in China fastened on the features and phenomena of nature in two ways. Seers discerned a message in the normal patterns of regular occurrence, such as the direction of the winds or the shapes of clouds; they also saw abnormal, irregular events as the harbingers of the future. In both cases they relied on a philosophy that saw the universe as a whole, whose integral parts were subject to the same overriding rhythms. Linear patterns could show how those rhythms were working out in their normal, regular and expected course; they could also show the disturbances that had been wrought in the operation of those rhythms. Extreme examples may be quoted in two instances. The practice of

feng-shui fastens on the permanent, static and regular features of a landscape; the attention paid to an eclipse or the extraorbital movements of the heavenly bodies seeks to interpret violent and abnormal incidents. It must however remain open to question how far the Chinese consciously drew a distinction between these two types of inference. It is of some interest that the single document from Ma-wang-tui includes entries for both types of phenomenon, e.g., the shapes of clouds, that are of regular occurrence, and the patterns of rarities such as comets.

The text that accompanies the entries for the comets includes the name allocated to each pattern and the prognostication thought appropriate thereto. Comparison is immediately suggested with parts of the *Chou I*. In both cases the names of the linear patterns include material objects, as if they were chosen as mnemonics. Whereas in the *Chou i* the prognostications of the *t'uan* and the *yao* are couched in formulaic terms and give general indications, in the manuscript from Ma-wang-tui, which is dated several centuries later, the predictions are more specific. It may be asked whether, in their earliest forms, some of the writings that we now know as the *Chou i* were not of a similar layout to that of the manuscript, i.e., a series of linear patterns, accompanied by the name whereby each one could be identified and remembered, and a suggested prognostication.⁴⁴)

These considerations prompt the question of the prime motive for compiling the manuscript, and perhaps that of recording part of the *Chou i* in writing. It can hardly have derived from a seer's own needs; for a master whose pronouncements depend on intuitive processes would hardly require a record to stir his memory, or for its own sake. But possibly a less skilled disciple, whose claims to mantic powers were pretentious rather than genuine, would be anxious to possess precisely such a document as the one under study; for it could be used both as an authority from which his own statements could draw support and as an *aide-mémoire* in times of difficulty. The inclusion on the manuscript of the names of certain masters as the sources may be relevant in this respect. The document may have emerged at a stage when divination in its real form, that depended on unconscious powers of vision, had given way to the next stage, when intellectual powers were being invoked, memories were being consulted or some form of instruction sought. *T'ien-wen ch'i-hsiang tsa chan* remains in the middle ground between science and divination, allowing scope both for the fruits of systematic observation and the intuitive messages of a seer.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

- GSR Bernhard Karlgren, 'Grammata Serica Recensa', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29 (1957) pp.1-332; reprinted, Stockholm 1964.
- HFHD Homer H. Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vols. I-III, Baltimore 1938-55
- HHS *Hou Han shu* and *Hsü Han shu*; references are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien^{*c} *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*^{*d}, Ch'ang-sha 1920
- HS *Han shu*; references are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Han shu pu-chu*^{*c}, Ch'ang-sha 1900
- KK *Kaogu*^{*f}
- MH Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Paris 1895-1905; reprinted, Paris 1969.
- SC *Shih-chi*; references are to Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaichū kōshō*^{*g}, Tokyo 1934; reprinted Taipei 1955
- SPPY *Ssu pu pei yao*^{*h}
- SPTK *Ssu pu ts'ung k'ar*^{*i}
- WW *Wen wu*^{*j}

NOTES

1.) No definitive lists have yet been drawn up for the 51 textual or illustrative units found at tomb no. 3 Ma-wang-tui. Chinese scholars now refer to the manuscript that is under study by the title *T'ien-wen ch'i-hsiang tsa chan*^{ab}. See Ku T'ieh-fu, 'Ma-wang-tui po-shu "T'ien-wen ch'i-hsiang tsa chan" nei-jung chien-shu'^{ak} (WW 1978.2.1-4), translated by Donald J. Harper as 'A summary of the contents of the Ma-wang-tui silk-scroll book "assorted astronomical and meteorological prognostications"' (*Chinese Studies in Archeology* Summer 1979/Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 56-74). The scientific evidence is considered by Hsi Tse-tung, in 'Ma-wang-tui Han mu po-shu chung ti hui-hsing t'u'^{al} (WW 1978.2.5-9). In terms of Han measurements, the dimensions of the manuscript are 6.6 by 2 feet. For facsimiles, see WW 1978.2 Plates 2,3 (reproduced here on pp. 30-31).

2.) I.e. *ch'i*^{am}; in the absence of a satisfactory term to render this word, it will hereafter be left as *ch'i*.

3.) *Shen*^{an}; see Ku T'ieh-fu in WW 1978.2.1.

4.) For the dating of the three Han tombs of Ma-wang-tui, see Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, London 1979, pp. 27f.

5.) I.e., the mantic text from tomb no. 6 Mo-tsui-tzu^{al} which is dated in the Ho-p'ing^{au} period (28-25 BC). See *Wu-wei Han chieh*^{av}, Peking 1964, pp. 136f. It is noticeable that whereas the character *pang*^{at} was avoided, as taboo, in the copies of the *I-l'*^{aw} from that site, it persists in the mantic text.

6.) For a map, see *Ways to Paradise* p. 19 fig. 2.

7.) See WW 1975.6.6f and figs. 1-2 (pp. 8-9), and KK 1975.1 Plate 9.1.

8.) E.g., see HS 30.64a for a summary of the entries on military matters which included 43 scrolls of *t'u*^{az}; and HS 30.68a for a single entry for a work on astronomy in 232 scrolls of silken diagrams (*po t'u*)^{ba}; for references in the *T'ung chih*^{bb} etc., see WW 1978.2.3.

9.) This manuscript has been entitled *Wu hsing chan*^{bc}; see WW 1974.11.28f. and 37f., and Plate 4; and KK 1975.3 Plates 2,3.

10.) For the Standard Histories see SC 27 (*T'ien-kuan shu*^{bc}), MH vol. III pp. 339f.; HS 26 and 27 (*T'ien-wen chih* and *Wu hsing chih*^{bf}); HHS (tr.) 10-12 (*T'ien-wen*); *Chin shu*⁸ 11-13 (*T'ien-wen*). Ho Peng Yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin shu*, Paris and The Hague, 1966. For secondary writings, see W. Eberhard and others, 'Beiträge zur Astronomie der Han-Zeit, I, II' (*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1933.23, pp. 209f. and 937f.); Homer H. Dubs 'The Beginnings of Chinese Astronomy' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 78.4 (1958) pp. 295-300); Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* volume 3 (Cambridge 1959); N. Sivin, 'Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy' (*T'oung Pao* LV, 1969 pp. 52f.); and Y. Maeyama 'On the astronomical data of ancient China (ca. -100~ +200): a numerical analysis', in *Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences* vol. 25 (1975) pp. 247-276 and vol. 26 (1976) pp. 27-58. For the *Hsing ching*^{bh} and its dating, see Y. Maeyama 'The oldest star catalogue of China, Shih Shen's *Hsing ching*', in *Prismata*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 211-245. For recently found manuscripts, see Loewe 'Manuscripts found recently in China: a preliminary survey,' in *T'oung Pao* vol. LXIII, 1977, 2-3, p. 123. To this it may be added that (i) Constellations were included in the decoration of the tomb of a Chinese migrant at Takamatsuzuka^{bi}, Japan, dated in the seventh or eighth centuries. (ii) The 28 Mansions were named on the cover of a lacquered box, found in a Chinese tomb dated shortly after 433 BC (see WW 1979.7.40f.)

11.) See SC 27.87,93 (MH vol. III, pp. 404, 409) and HS 26.19b *et seq.* for citations from the astronomers Kan and Shih^{bj}; see HS 27C (2), 19b, 20a, 20b for citations from the *Hsing chuan*^{bk}; and HS 27C (2), 21a for citations from Shen Hsü [or Ju]^{bl}, also *Ch'ien-fu lun* (*Wu lieh*)^{bm} 6.7b (SPPY).

12.) *Tso chuan* (Harvard-Yenching Index print of the text) p. 167.

13.) See p. 14, and Ngo van Xuyet, *Divination, Magie et Politique dans la Chine Anienne*, Paris 1976.

15.) For the appearance of eight of these terms together, in a work attributed to Ching Fang^{bn}, see p. 11, see also *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 6.10a (SPPY edition) for the mention of five named comets, including some of those given in the manuscript.

16.) E.g., HS 26.52a (for 134 BC); HS 26.53a (for the Yüan-feng^{bo} period 110–105 BC); HS 26.54b for 77 BC; HHS (tr.) 11.2a for AD 71; HHS (tr.) 11.2b for AD 76.

17.) *Feng-chiao* was a method of divination according to the direction and force of the winds and the time at which they arose. There is considerable evidence for its practice in both western and eastern Han, and one passage refers to this as part of the *La^{bq}* ceremonies at the start of the year (see SC 27.78f., MH vol. III pp. 397f.). The *Hou Han shu* mentions a number of named specialists at this type of divination; for its association with military matters, see *Shen chi chih ti T'ai-po yin ching^{br}* ch. 8 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng^{bn}* ed. pp. 235–36).

18.) For the western Han period, the *Han shu* has a fuller set of records than the *Shih-chi*. In his notes to references to comets in the Imperial Annals, Dubs draws attention to the entries in John Williams, *Observation of Comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640 extracted from the Chinese Annals* (Williams and Norgate, London 1871), and to observations recorded in western sources. In addition to Williams' pioneer work, lists of comets recorded in Chinese sources for the period also appear in Ho Peng Yoke 'Ancient and Mediaeval Observations of Comets and Novae in Chinese Sources' (*Vistas in Astronomy* 5, 1962, pp. 127–225). For consideration of the possible motives and ways of fabricating reports of strange phenomena, see Hans Bielenstein, 'An interpretation of the Portents in the *Ts'ien-Han-shu*' (*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 22, 1950, pp. 127–143); HFHD vol. I pp. 165–6, 212, 287–8 and vol. III, p. 555; Wolfram Eberhard, 'The Political Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Han China' (*Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank, University of Chicago Press, 1957, pp. 33–70); and N. Sivin, *op.cit.*, pp. 52f.

19.) Williams, *op.cit.*, lists 41 incidents (nos. 15–55), and Ho (*op.cit.*) lists 44 incidents (nos. 23–66), including suspect novae.

20.) For correspondences with records from other sources, see the references in HFHD vol. II, pp. 34 (note 4.1), 313 (note 5.7) and 410 (note 13.6), and HFHD vol. III, p. 333 (note 22.2). For the incident of AD 185, see David H. Clark and F. Richard Stephenson, *The Historical Supernovae*, Pergamon Press, 1977, Chapter 5. For the comet sighted in 87 BC, see HS 7.1b (HFHD vol. II, p. 152), and Ho (*op.cit.*) p. 145. Other references to these incidents will be found in HS 44.9a, b and HS 27C (2).22b (for 135 BC); HS 26.56b (for 44 BC); HS 27C (2).23a and HS 36.30a (for 12 BC). Other sightings which have been tentatively identified as Halley's comet are for AD 66, 141, 218 (see Ho, pp. 150, 152, 154). See also T. Kiang, 'The past orbit of Halley's Comet', in *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society*, volume 76, part 2 (1972) pp. 27–66; and Y.C. Chang, 'The tendency in orbital evolution of Halley's comet and its ancient history', in *Archeoastronomy* vol. II no. 2 (1979) pp. 15–16.

21.) For *po*, see GSR 491 a. **b'wat / b'uat / p o* and **b'wad / b'uai- / p e i*; and Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void* (University of California Press, 1977), p. 107. For Han beliefs regarding the origin of comets, see pp. 13f.

22.) See the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, in the Harvard-Yenching Index text pp. 167, 393, 487, 490. There is a further reference in the supplementary part of the *Tso chuan* for 516 BC, where the expression *sui* is used (see Harvard-Yenching Index text p. 422).

23.) SC 27.86 (MH vol. III p. 403); HS 27C (2).19b, 20b, 22a.

24.) Harvard-Yenching Index text p. 167.

25.) The Harvard-Yenching Index to the *Shih-chi* carries no reference to *hsing po*. The expression *hsing fu^{fd}* occurs in SC 12.39 and 28.78 (MH vol. III p. 504) for an observation of 110 BC, which is duly reported in HS 6.6b as *hsing po*. Similarly Ssu-ma Ch'ien's comments to the chapter on astrology include the statement that comets (*hsing fu*) appeared at the destruction of Ch'ao-hsien in 108 BC, and when the Han armies attacked Ta Yüan (SC 27.92, MH vol. III p. 408); HS 26.53a, 54a reports both these incidents as *hsing po*. For the use of *fu* in other texts, see *Yen-Tzu Ch'un-ch'iu^{fc}* 7.3b (SPTK) and *Yang Hsiung, Ch'ü Ch'in mei Hsir^{fd}* (Wen hsüan, SPTK 48.12b).

26.) SC 27.91 (MH vol. III, p. 407) reports the incident of 154 BC as *sui*; SC 11.4 (MH vol. II p. 498) as

ch'ang hsing. The event is not reported in HS 5.

27.) E.g., (a) HS 5.3b (HFHD vol. I p. 312) and HS 26.50b report the same incident, in 155 BC, once as *hsing po* and once as *sui*. (b) An incident of the ninth month of 147 BC is reported as *hsing po* in HS 5.6b (HFHD vol. I, p. 321) and as *sui* in HS 26.51a and SC 11.10 (MH vol. II, p. 504). (c) HHS 1B.11a reports a *hsing po* for AD 39; in HHS (tr.) 10.7a this is mentioned as *sui*.

28.) The observation for 135 BC is given as *hsing po* (HS 6.4a), as *sui* (HS 44.9a, b) and as *ch'ang hsing* (HS 27C (2).22b). The last passage includes in its prognostication an identification of the phenomenon as the Banner of Ch'ih-yu^{c8}. The term *sui hsing* (seen in entry no. 617 of the manuscript) also appears in one of the medical manuscripts from Ma-wang-tui, in a formula of exorcism designed to eliminate infantile convulsions (see WW 1975.9.37, column 53 of the manuscript). The term is also used as a general expression in *Huai-nan-tzu* 3.3b (Liu Wen-tien^{ch} edition).

29.) There are no references to the observation of a *k'o hsing*; the term appears once in SC 27.96 (MH vol. III p. 412 'étoile étrangère) in a very general context.

30.) (a) HS 26.54a reports *hsing po* at the start of the T'ai ch'u^{ci} period (104–101 BC); the text cites an appropriate comment from the lost (*hsing*) *chuan* on the subject, not of *hsing po*, but of *k'o hsing*. (b) HS 26.56a reports a *k'o hsing* for the third month of 49 BC; in HS 8.24b (HFHD vol. II, p. 263) this is given as *hsing po*; for the sixth month of 69 BC, HS 26.56a writes *k'o hsing*, while HS 8.7a (HFHD vol. II, p. 215) and HS (2).23a have *hsing po* for the first month. The implications are not clear in a passage of HHS (tr.) 12.2a which relates that a *k'o hsing* was transformed into a *sui*.

31.) See HS 26.52b, 54b, 56b for incidents in 134, 77, 48 and 47 BC.

32.) See HS 26.51b, 54a and HS 5.6a (HFHD vol. I, p. 320) and HS 7.3b (HFHD vol. II, p. 157); the months mentioned in these corresponding passages for the years 148 and 84 BC are not identical.

33.) SC 24.6 (MH vol. III, p. 236) reports the regular presence of *liu hsing* above the altar, when an emperor was worshipping T'ai i^{ci} (Grand Unity); in SC 27.72 (MH vol. III, p. 392) and SC 28.10 (MH vol. III, p. 422) the term is used to describe phenomena such as lights or effulgences due to occult powers.

34.) HS 10.3a (HFHD vol. II, p. 378); HS 26.56b; and HS 97B.4b.

35.) HS 26.55a and 59a for 73 (second month) and 8 BC (first month).

36.) HS 26.54b.

37.) HS 7.10a (HFHD vol. II, p. 174), for the second month of 74 BC.

38.) HS 30.65b, 66a. The titles are: (a) *Chin tu yü-heng Han wu-hsing k'o liu ch'u-jü^k*; (b) *Han wu-hsing sui k'o hsing-shih chan-yer^l*; and (c) *Han liu-hsing hsing-shih chan-yer^m*. In a T'ang text which concerns military matters (*Shen Chi chih ti T'ai-po yin chingⁿ*, ascribed to Li Ch'üan^{co}, preface dated 768) three chapters (nos. 7–9) concern various methods of divination for tactical purposes. One of these includes sections on *liu hsing*, *k'o hsing* and *yao hsing^p*, but not on *sui* or *hsing po*.

39.) HS 4.13b (HFHD vol. I, pp. 251–252).

40.) HHS (tr.) 11.1b, for AD 65.

41.)	HHS Annals	HHS Treatise	Date
	1B.11a	10.7a	39
	2.7b	11.1a	60
	2.17b	11.2b	75
	3.4a	11.2b	76
	3.5a	11.3a	77
	5.7a	11.7b	109
	6.11b	11.1 2a	141
	7.4b	12.1a	149
	8.8a	12.4a	178
	8.9a	12.4a	180
	8.10a	12.4b	182
	8.14a	12.5a	188

42.) HHS 3.14a and HHS (tr.) 11.3b for 85; HHS 6.6a and HHS (tr.) 11.10b for 131; and HHS 6.7b and HHS

(tr.) 11.11a for 132.

43.) (i) HHS 64 (biog. 54).12b, in a memorial of Lu Chih^{ct} dated 178; and (ii) HHS 66 (biog. 56).12a, where Shih-sun Jui^{cu} argues in 192 that the appearance of *sui po* indicates the need for speedy action.

44.) *Pacing the Void*, p. 107.

45.) *Liu hsing* and *k'o hsing* are treated in chapter 281 of the *Wen hsien t'ung-k'ad^w* together with other phenomena such as *jui huang^x* and *yao hsing^p*. Chapter 286, which is sub-titled *po sui*, is concerned only with incidents that are described by one of these terms.

46.) See GSR 500k **p'jwat / p'juat / f u* shrubby, dense (Kuoyü); **piwat / pjuat / f u* clear away dense vegetation (Shi); and GSR 1197y **b'ung / b'ung / p'e n g* name of a plant, of uncertain species (Artemisia? *Chrysanthemum coronarium?* (Conyza?) (Shi); luxuriant (foliage) (Shi);

47.) HHS (tr.) 10.4a, b. Han Yang is untraced.

48.) For these identification, see p. 5 above. For *p'ou*, see GSR 999x **p'eg/p'eu/p'o u* and **b'eg/b'eu / p'o u* raised wooden platform, a look-out built of planks (Kungyang).

49.) SC 27.39, 27.57 and 27.59 (MH vol. III, pp. 362f., 378 and 380); HS 26.19b, 20a, 23a, 25b. These passages may be compared with parts of the text of the other manuscript from Ma-wang-tui which concerns astronomy (see note 9 above); for transcription of that text, see *Chung-kuo t'ien-wen-hsüeh shih wen chr^{dh}*, Peking 1978. 'Ma-wang-tui Han po-shu "Wu hsing chan" shih wen^{di}', pp. 2.3 and 7, for columns 10, 11, 13, 17, 19 and 55 of the manuscript.

50.) HS 26.49b; see Ho Peng Yoke, as cited in note 18 above, p. 143.

51.) SC 117.81 (Yves Hervouet, *Le Chapitre 117 du Che-ki*, Paris 1972, p. 187); see GSR 703i. For the problems regarding the composition of this *fu^{dr}*, see Yves Hervouet, *Sseu-ma Siang-jou*, Paris 1964, pp. 288f.

52.) HS 87A. 14a (David R. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody*, Cambridge 1976, p. 48).

53.) HHS 52 (biog. 42).4a.

54.) For the reference in the *Shuo-yüan*, and the question of the emergence of comets from the planets, see p. 13.

55.) HHS (tr.) 11.3b.

56.) Ching Fang's explanations of strange phenomena are cited in HS 27B (1), HS 27B (2), HS 27C (1) and HS 27C (2), in connection with incidents such as the odd behaviour of rats, unaccounted sprouting of leaves in dead wood etc. For his remarks on comets, see *Chin shu chiao chü^a* 12.12b.

57.) E.g., see HS 27B (2).22b, 23a; after reporting the comet of 110 BC, the text adds 'Thereafter Chiang Ch'ung^{eh} staged his revolt and the capital city was thrown into confusion' (for this incident, see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China*, London, 1974, chapter 2). See also *Shuo-yüan* 18.3b (SPPY) for credence in the connection between a comet and historical events such as the accession of the first Ch'in emperor.

58.) HS 26.59b and HS 27C (2).20b, 21a. In Wen Ying's^{cr} note to HS 4.13b (HFHD vol. I, p. 251), this statement is ascribed to Ta fa^{cc}.

59.) For citations from the *Hsing chuan*, see HS 27C (2).20a, b. No work with this single title appears in the large number of books of on astronomy and astrology that are listed in HS 30.65a *et seq.* Shen Hsü [or Ju] was a prominent man in Lu^{cc}, who features in incidents that are recorded in the *Tso chuan* for 706, 694 and 680 BC (see Harvard-Yenching Index text, pp. 33, 45, 61); these do not correspond with the reference in HS 27C (2).21a. The incident recorded in the *Tso chuan* for 694 BC is also reported in the *Kuan-tzu^f* 18 (*Ta K'uang^{ff}*) SPY ed. 7.2b, where Shen Hsü appears as Shen Yü^{eh}. It also recorded in one of the historical documents found in Ma-wang-tui which is entitled now *Ch'un-ch'iu shih-yi^f*, but in this account neither Shen Hsü nor Shen Yü are mentioned (see WW 1977.1.35, incident no. 16).

60.) HHS (tr.) 10.4a; for the observation, see HS 99C.19b (HFHD vol. III, p. 435), HHS 1A.2b; and Williams no. 55. The bracketed passage reads: *ts'an jan po yen ping chih lei yelf^l*.

61.) See note 47 above.

62.) Re-collected fragments of the *Hsiao-ching wei kou-ming-chüeh^{ff}*, with annotation by Sung Chün^{cp}, are included in the *Yü-han-shan fang chi-i-shü^f* chapter 58; for the full citation from which this passage is drawn, see f. 8a. In that collection Sung Chün is described as being of the Wei^{ct} period, presumably third

century AD. He is to be distinguished from the Sung Chün of HHS 2.19a, whose pupils are stated to have offered advice regularly to Ming ti, after inspecting comets. See also HHS 41 (diag. 31). 13b for a biography of Sung Chün, who died in AD 76. There is nothing in the biography to confirm the statement of HHS 2.19a, or to show that its subject possessed skills or specialised knowledge of comets. See also Wang Hsien-ch'ien's^{ac} note to HHS 41 (biog. 31). 13b for the view that Sung Chün is in error for Tsung Chün^{ew}.

63.) See SC 1.6.8 (MH vol. I, pp. 27, 29), and SC 27.60 (MH vol. III, p. 407); and Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, Princeton and Hong Kong, 1975, p. 120. A shrine to Ch'ih-yu was included among those places of worship which were abolished in 31 BC (HS 25B.14b, 15a). In *Yen-tieh lun*⁵² (Wang Li-ch'i^{ev} ed. p. 328) Ch'in is criticised for believing itself to be impervious to damage, even from Ch'ih-yu.

64.) SPPY ed. 6.9b.

65.) *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 875.10a; see also the note in SC 1.8, by P'ei Yin^{ez}.

66.) *San kuo chih* (Wei)^{fc} (*Chung Hua shu-chü*^d ed., Peking 1959, p. 418. For a further observation of the Banner of Ch'ih-yu, in AD 501, see *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*^{fw} 286 (*Wan yü wen k'u*^{ec} ed., 1936, p. 2269B).

67.) HS 6.4a (HFHD vol. II, p. 34).

68.) HS 27C (2).22b.

69.) SC 27.91 (MH vol. III, p. 408).

70.) HHS 9.3a.

71.) HHS (tr.) 12.5b.

72.) HHS 30A (biog. 20A).3b. The object was compared variously with the Banner of Ch'ih-yu, with Ying t'ou⁶ or T'ien Chiang (for T'ien Chiang, see p. 10).

73.) *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 6.9b.

74.) HS 26.37b; the passage occurs also in SC 27.72 (MH vol. III, p. 392).

75.) *Chin shu chiao chü*^a 12.9b; Ho Peng Yoke, *The astronomical chapters of the Chin shu*, Paris and the Hague, 1966, p. 130.

76.) See p. 36 above, and Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, volume 3, Cambridge 1959, pp. 430f.

77.) *Shuo-yüan* 18.2b (SPTK).

78.) *Chin shu chiao chu* 12.12b; Ho Peng Yoke, *ibid.*, p. 134.

79.) Of the two scholars named Ching Fang who were each specialists in the interpretation of the *Chou i*, the first had probably died before the reign of Hsüan ti^{fn} (73–49 BC). The second (79–37 BC), whose sayings are cited in the *Chin shu*, was the founder of one of the four *chin wen*^{fo} schools of the *I ching*. Part of his intellectual effort was directed to reconciling the cycle of the 64 hexagrams with *yin-yang* and the Five Phases' cycle of change in nature. For his biography, see HS 75.5b. The most reliable fragments of his writings are probably to be found in citations in works such as the *Han shu* or *Chin shu*.

80.) I.e., in entries nos. 613, 616, 617, 626, 628, 635, 639 and 640.

81.) *Chin shu chiao chu* 12.12a.

82.) See Meng K'ang's comment to HS 26.37b, and SC 27.72 (MH vol. III, p. 392).

83.) *T'ai p'ing yü-lan* 875.4a and 10a.

84.) For the diversity of material that came to be included in the *Chou i*, and its different origins, see Arthur Waley, 'The Book of Changes', in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 5 (1933), pp. 121–142.

APPENDIX

The following passages from the Standard Histories may serve as examples of reports made in those works for the observation of comets or similar phenomena.

(a) *Han shu* 10.13b (HFHD vol. II, p. 410).

In the autumn, seventh month [i.e. August to September, 12 BC] there was a comet [*hsing po*] in the constellation Tung-ching^{fs}.

This incident has been identified with the appearance of Halley's comet. It followed a solar eclipse which was reported for the first month, and unexplained claps of thunder and flashes of light which appeared out of a clear sky in the fourth month. The events prompted the promulgation of an imperial edict, in which the emperor expressed his concern and anxiety at the state of the universe, and asked his principal counsellors to tender their advice regarding the prevailing situation.

The constellation Tung-ching was one of the twenty eight mansions (for identification, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. III, p. 237).

The incident is also reported in HS 27C (2).23a, for a date corresponding with 26 August. The passage is translated by Dubs (HFHD vol. II, p. 410 n. 13.6) as follows:

"In Yüan-yen, I, vii, on *hsin-wei*, [Aug. 26], a comet appeared in [the constellation] Tung-ching [$\mu, \nu, \gamma, \xi, \lambda, \zeta, 38, \epsilon$ Gem], and marched over the Five Nobles [$\theta, \iota, \tau, \upsilon, \kappa$ Gem]. It rose north of the [two] Ho-shu [the same as the *Nanand Po-ho*, ρ, α, β Gem and ϵ, β, α C Min] and directed itself towards and traversed Hsien-yüan [35 Lyn; 10 U Ma; 38, α Lyn; 59, ι, ξ Cnc; $\lambda, \epsilon, \mu, \zeta, \gamma, \eta, \alpha, \sigma, 31$ Leo] and T'ai-wei [$\delta, \theta, \iota, \sigma$ Leo; $\beta, \eta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon$ Vir; α Com]. It daily progressed six degrees [of equatorial longitude] or more. At dawn it rose in the eastern quarter. On the thirteenth day [Sept. 7], at evening, it appeared in the western quarter. It invaded the Second Consort [ζ Ser (cf. SC27: 14 notes)], the Harem [another name for Wei₃ ($\epsilon, \mu, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \upsilon$ Ser) and Chi ($\gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \eta$ Sgr; cf. HS 26: 8b, 9a)] the Bushel [$\zeta, \tau, \sigma, \phi, \lambda, \mu$ Sgr] and Saturn. [On Sept. 7, Saturn was in R. A. 283.5°.]

"The point of its flame [its tail] penetrated twice through the Tzu-kung [a circle of stars about the north polar regions: 6, λ , Dra; Piazz 10^h 126, 27 U Ma; Piazz 7^h 187, 48 H Cep; 19 H Cam; $\alpha, \iota, \eta, \zeta, \delta, \epsilon$ Dra; β, γ Cep]. Its great fire [head?] later reached to the Milky Way and swept [away evils] in the Region of the Consorts and Empress [U Mi?], went south, moved on, and invaded Ta-chio [Arcturus], the [two] Shê-t'i [η, τ, υ and σ, π, ζ Boo], and went to the Heavenly Market-place [four stars of the six in Ch'i (cf. HS 26: 7b), i.e., $\upsilon, \rho, 43, \pi, \sigma, \nu$ Sgr], where it stopped for a lunation, traveling slowly. Its flame [tail] entered into the Market-place for ten days and later went west and left. On the fifty-sixth day [Oct. 20], it hid itself together with the Azure Dragon [the same as the Eastern Palace (cf. 26: 7a), one-quarter of the zodiac, including Chio, K'ang, Ti, Fang, Hsin, Wei₃, and Chi (Vir, Lib, Ser, and part of Sgr)]."

The text of the Treatise continues:

Ku Yung's answer [to the edict] was as follows: 'Since the remote past, occasions of extreme disturbance have occurred only rarely. When we observe the fast rate [of the comet's-] speed, the varying length of its tail and the infringements that it perpetrated in its course, it is apparent that it signifies, within, the violence wrought by the womenfolk of the palace, and, without, the disastrous outbreak of rebellions throughout China'.

Liu Hsiang, for his part, said: 'At the ruin of the Three Dynasties the [two] She-t'i^{fy} changed places, and at the destruction of Ch'in and Hsiang [Yü]^{fr} there were comets in Ta-chiao^{ga}.

It was in this year that the Chao-i consort Chao^{gh} treated the two sons of the emperor with violence. Five years later, at the death of Ch'eng ti^{gc}, the Chao-i consort took her own life; with the accession of Ai ti^{gd} all members of the Chao family were deprived of their offices and orders of rank, and banished to Liao-hsi^{ge}. In the absence of a direct heir to Ai ti, P'ing ti^{gf} acceded to the throne, and Wang Mang^{gg} controlled affairs of state; he had the Chao empress of Ch'eng ti retrospectively demoted, and both she and the Fu^{gh} empress of Ai ti committed suicide. All members of the Ting and Fu^{gi} families who had been allied by marriage to the imperial house were deprived of their offices and orders of rank and banished to Ho-p'u^{gu}, or sent back to the commanderies of their origin. When P'ing ti died without a direct heir, [Wang] Mang forthwith assumed unlawful control of the state.

(b) *Hsü Han shu* (tr.) 10.6a.

On the day *chi-ha*^{gk} of the twelfth month [of the 10th year of Chien-wu^{gl}, i.e. 25 January AD 35] a large roaming star [*liu hsing*] such as a broadly shaped jar emerged from the south-west of the constellation Liu^{gm} and proceeded to enter Chen^{gn}. At the time when it was about to be destroyed, it split into ten or more fragments, with the appearance of embers; shortly there were sounds as loud as a clap of thunder.

Liu corresponds with Chou^{go}, and Chen with Ch'in and Shu^{gp}. That a large roaming star emerged from Liu

and entered Chen corresponds with the penetration of a large expedition from Chou into Shu.

At this time Kuang Wu ti⁸⁴ had sent Marshal Wu Han to mobilise 300,000 conscript troops from Nan-yang⁸⁵; they were to be embarked on boats, with orders to proceed upstream along the [Yangtse] River, to take the offensive against Kung-sun Shu⁸⁶, Emperor of the White, of Shu. In addition he had ordered Generals Ma Wu, Liu Shang, Kuo Pa, Ts'en P'eng and Feng Chün⁸⁷ to bring order to bear in Wu tu and Pa⁸⁸ commandery. In the tenth month of the twelfth year, advanced troops of Han attacked Yung⁸⁹, Superintendent of the Guards and cousin of [Kung-sun] Shu; they advanced as far as Kuang-tu⁹⁰ and put to death Shih Hsing⁹¹, son-in-law of [Kung-sun] Shu. Feng Chün, the Wei-lu general⁹² took over Chiang chou⁹³ and put to death [Kung-sun] Shu's general T'ien Jung⁹⁴. In addition, Wu Han⁹⁵ attacked (Kung-sun) Shu's Marshal Hsieh Feng⁹⁶, putting over 5000 men to death; Ts'ang Kung⁹⁷ conquered Fu⁹⁸, killing (Kung-sun) Shu's brother Hui⁹⁹, who was

*Ta-ssu-k'ung*¹⁰⁰.

On the day *ting-ch'ou*¹⁰¹ of the eleventh month [23 December AD 36] Kao Wu¹⁰², General of the Han Reserve Army, stabbed [Kung-sun] Shu, piercing his breast. He died that night, and the next day Han [troops] entered the city of Shu,¹⁰³ they butchered its inhabitants, putting to death [Kung-sun] Shu's generals of prime rank Kung-sun Huang, Yen Ts'en¹⁰⁴ and others. Myriads of individuals were killed and over 10,000 members of the families related to Kung-sun Shu by marriage were exterminated.

This was the response [to the comet], in the form of attack and slaughter by the generals of prime rank. The shooting movements of the smaller stars and the fragmentation of the comet into ten pieces or more, like embers, were signs that the generals of secondary rank would follow and join in the fight. The sounds like thunder were indications of armed conflict.

*For the identification of the constellations Liu and Chen, see Needham, *ibid.*, p. 237.

(c) *Hsü Han shu* (tr.) 11.1a

On the day *ting-mao*¹⁰⁵, in the sixth month of the third year [of Yung-p'ing¹⁰⁶, i.e. 9 August AD 60], a comet [*sui hsing*] emerged from the north of T'ien ch'uan¹⁰⁷ for a length of two feet, moving gradually in a northerly direction to the south of K'ang¹⁰⁸; after being observed for 35 days it departed.

T'ien ch'uan signifies water, and that the comet emerged therefrom indicated a great flood. In that year the rivers I and Lo¹⁰⁹ overflowed, reaching the Chin-ch'eng¹¹⁰ gate, destroying the bridge over the I River and inundating 32 prefectures in 7 commanderies.

(The translation follows the text as emended in the punctuated edition of *Chung Hua shu-chü*, Peking 1965, p. 3229, as suggested by Ch'ien Ta-chao¹¹¹. The constellation T'ien ch'uan is identified by Morohashi (5833.932) with T'ien Huang¹¹². For K'ang, see Needham, *ibid.*, p. 235).

CHINESE CHARACTERS

aa 馬王堆 ab 天文氣象雜占 ac 王先謙 ad 後
漢書集解 ae 漢書補注 ar 考古 ag 瀧川龜太郎
史記會注考證 ah 四部備要 ai 四部叢刊 aj 文
物 ak 顧鐵符 馬王堆帛書“天文氣象雜占”內
容簡述 al 席澤宗 馬王堆漢墓帛書中的彗星
圖 am 氣 an 帛 ao 韓魏趙 ap 晉 aq 隸書 ar 邦
as 劉邦 at 磨咀子 au 河平 av 武威漢簡 aw 儀
禮 ax 楚 ay 長沙 az 圖 ba 帛圖 bb 通志 bc 五星
占 bd 甘石 be 天官書 bf 天文志, 五行志 bg 晉
書 bh 星經 bi 高松塚 bj 甘石 bk 星傳 bl 申繻
bm 潛夫論 巫列 bn 京房 bo 元封 bp 風角 bq 臘
br 神機制敵太白陰經 bs 叢書集成 bt 北宮, 姚
bu 612 赤灌 613 白灌 614 天箭 615 天箭 616 龜
617 彗星 c18 白灌 619 赤灌 620 蒲彗 621 蒲彗 622 杆彗
623 杆彗 624 帛彗 625 厲彗 626 竹彗 627 竹彗 628 蒿彗

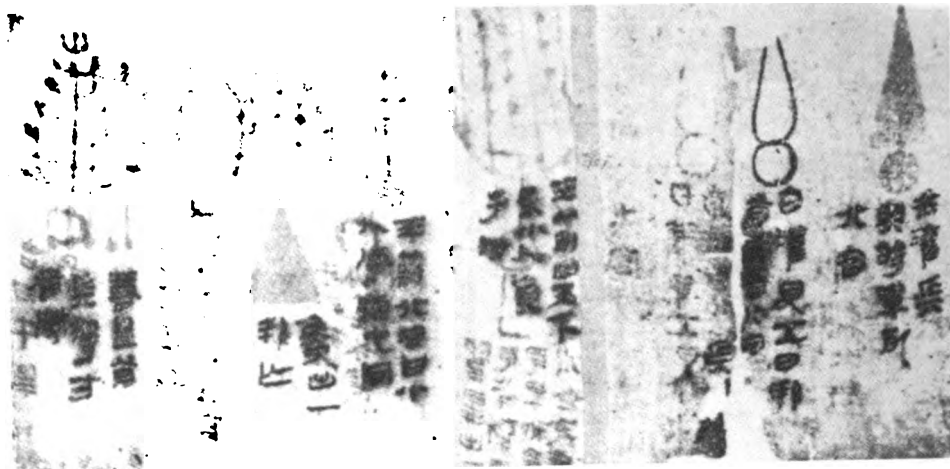
629 蒿⁶³⁰彗⁶³¹ 蒿⁶³³彗⁶³⁴ 甚星⁶³⁵ 瘡星⁶³⁶ 捫星⁶³⁷ 干彗
 638 蒿彗星⁶³⁹ 蚩尤旗⁶⁴⁰ 翟星^{bv} 博物志^{bw}
 星孛^{bx} 長星^{by} 蓬星^{bz} 彗^{ca} 客星^{cb} 流星^{cc} 第
 cd 星第^{ce} 晏子春秋^{cf} 楊雄^{cg} 劇秦美新^{ch} 蚩尤
 淮南子^{ci} 劉文典^{cj} 太初^{ck} 太一^{cl} 金度王衡
 漢五星客流出入^{cm} 漢五星彗客行事占驗^{cn} 漢
 流星行事占驗^{co} 申機制敵太白陰經^{cp} 李筌
 姚星^{cq} 續漢書^{cr} 文類^{cs} 彗孛^{ct} 盧植^{cu} 士
 孫瑞^{cv} 馬端臨^{cw} 文獻通考^{cx} 瑞皇^{cy} 劉昭
 cz 韓楊,揚^{da} 龜^{db} 櫓^{dc} 蒲^{dd} 杆^{de} 蒿^{df} 甚^{dg} 榘^{dh}
 中國天文學史文集^{di} 馬王堆漢墓帛書五星占
 釋文^{dj} 天^{dk} 櫓^{dl} 彗星^{dm} 天^{dn} 櫓^{do} 龜^{dp} 櫓^{dq}
 大人賦^{dr} 司馬相如^{ds} 賦^{dt} 甘泉賦^{du} 楊雄
 說苑^{dv} 劉向^{dw} 董仲舒^{dx} 劉歆^{dy} 谷永
 dz 京房^{ea} 晉書^{eb} 韋^{ec} 江充^{ed} 大法^{ee} 星傳^{ef} 魯

ef 管子 eg 大匡 eh 申命 ei 春秋事語 ej 參然
 李馬兵之類也 ek 李星 el 李 em 德 en 不明 eo 李
 星 ep 宋均(鉤) eq 鉤命決 er 孝經緯鉤命訣
 es 王函山房輯佚書 et 魏 eu 宗均 ev 鹽鐵論
 王利器 ew 黃帝 ex 呂氏春秋 ey 太平御覽 ez 裴
 駰 fa 皇覽 fb 王肅 fc 三國志, 魏 fd 中華書局
 fe 萬有文庫 ff 元光 fg 元狩 fh 角亢 fi 蘇竟 fj 營頭
 fk 晉灼 fl 說苑 fm 京房 fn 宣帝 fo 今文 fp 河圖 fq 散
 fr 精 fs 孟康 ft 河圖稽耀鉤 fu 風水 fv 周易 fw 象
 文 fx 東井 fy 攝提 fz 項羽 ga 大角 gb 趙昭儀 gc 成
 帝 gd 哀帝 ge 遼西 gf 平帝 gg 王莽 gh 傅 gi 丁傅
 gj 合浦 gk 己亥 gl 建武 gm 柳 gn 軫 go 周 gp 秦蜀 gq 光
 武帝 gr 南陽 gs 公孫述 gt 馬武 gu 劉向 gv 郭霸 gw 彭
 馮駿 su 武都 巳 sy 永 sw 廣都 sx 史興 sy 咸康
 gz 江州 ha 田戎 hb 吳漢 hc 謝豐 hd 臧宮 he 涪 hf 恢

hg 大司空 hh 丁丑 hi 高午 hj 蜀 hk 公孫晃 延岑

hl 丁卯 hm 永平 hn 天船 ho 亢 hp 伊 維 hq 津城 hr 錢

大 昭 hv 天漢



617
彗(彗)星, 有
兵, 得方者勝。

616
彗出, 一邦
亡。

615
天箭, 北宮
日, 小人受咎
號。它同。

614
天箭出, 天下
采。小人負子姚
(逃)。

613
白彗見, 五
日, 邦有反者。
北宮

612
赤彗、兵興、
將軍死。北宮



625
彗(房)彗, 有
小兵, 黍麻為。
北宮。

624
是是彗, 有
內兵, 年大孰
(熟)。

623
同占, 杆彗。
北宮。

622
是胃(謂)杆
年彗, 兵起, 有杆

621
彗, 多死者。北
宮。疾。多死者。北

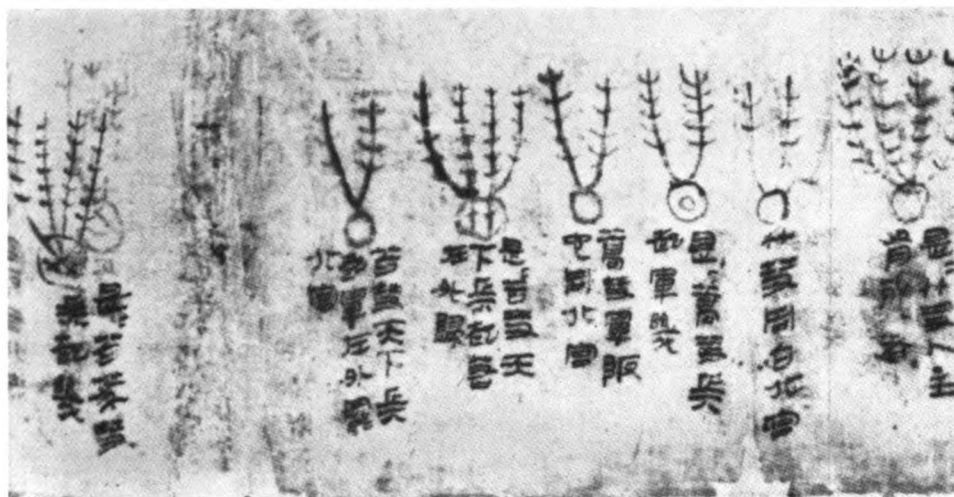
620
彗, 天下
疾。

619
是胃(謂)赤
者。彗, 大將軍有死

618
是胃(謂)白
彗, 見五日而
去, 邦有亡者。

(Reproduced from WW 1978.2 Plate 2)

图版叁 马王堆帛书《天文气象杂占》彗星部分



633

彗兵起，
(是) 是苦彗，
(彗)

632

(字全劫)

631

苦彗，天下
兵起，军在外
北官

630

是苦彗，
天下兵起，若
在外归

629

苦彗，军叛
(叛) 它同
北官

628

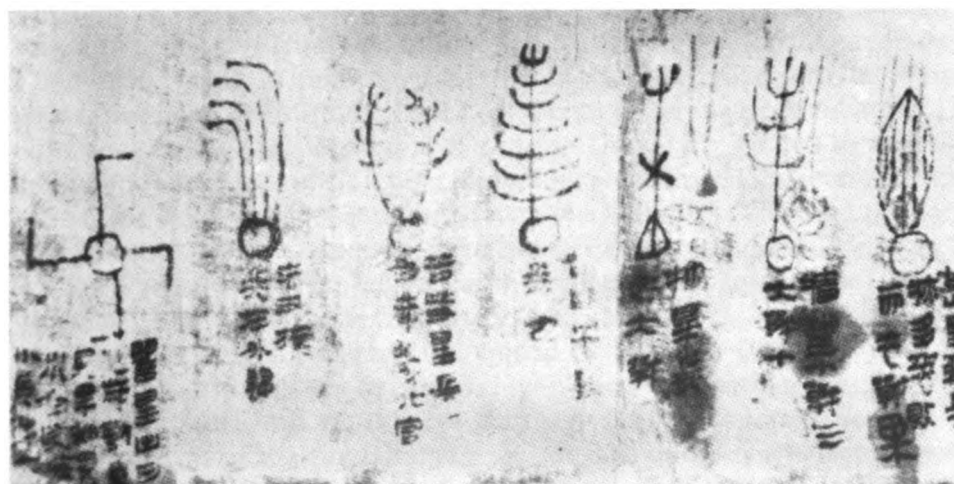
是苦彗，
兵起，军叛
(彗)

627

竹彗，同
占。北官

626

是竹彗，
人主有死者



640

彗星，出日
(春) 见族族
(熟) 夏见
早，秋见水
战，冬见入
兵

639

旗，兵在外
蚩又(尤)
归

638

苦彗星，兵
起，族族(彗)
北官

637

名曰，千
彗，兵也

636

捕星，兵
也，大彗

635

彗星，小彗
三，大彗七

634

甚星，致兵
疾多，恐败，
而衣(卒)战
果

(Reproduced from WW 1978.2 Plate 3)

THE STATUTES OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (*KUO-TZU CHIEN*) IN THE MING DYNASTY

by

Jan Hagman

INTRODUCTION

The Ming National University¹⁾ was founded by Chu Yüan-chang (Ming T'ai-tsu, 1368–1398) in 1365, one year after he had proclaimed himself Prince of Wu (*Wu-wang*),²⁾ thereby revealing his ambitions to establish a new dynastic order.³⁾ By changing the name of the Chi-ch'ing circuit school (*lu-hsüeh*), located in the southern section of Nanking, to *Kuo-tzu hsüeh*, or "National University", Chu Yüan-chang made an important move in his efforts to build a civil administration with offices and institutions proper only to an imperial government. In 1382 the old circuit school was abandoned, and the University moved to a newly-built compound at the foot of Chi-ming Mountain, some three kilometers northwest of the Ming Palace and just south of Hsüan-wu Lake.⁴⁾ At this time the name was changed to *Kuo-tzu chien*. After the transfer of the capital to Peking in 1421, it became known as the *Nan-ching Kuo-tzu chien*, "Nanking National University," or *Nan-yung*, "Southern University," to distinguish it from the National University in Peking, which was founded by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in 1403.⁵⁾

During the Hung-wu reign (1368–1398), the National University at Nanking became the most important route for entry into bureaucratic service. By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, its role in the recruitment system was gradually eclipsed by the civil service examination system, and the *chin-shih* degree became more important for appointment to higher government offices. But for lower positions, and especially offices in the local governments, both the National Universities in Nanking and Peking continued throughout the Ming to play an important role as a source for the recruitment of civil officials.⁶⁾

The government school system of the Ming dynasty consisted of the National University in the capital, and on the local level prefectural (*fu-hsüeh*),

subprefectural (*chou-hsüeh*), and district schools (*hsien-hsüeh*). It has been estimated that in the early Ming there were somewhere between 1,200 and 1,500 prefectural, subprefectural, and district schools in the empire.⁷) The local school officials were required to regularly send up "tribute students" (*kung-sheng* or *sui-kung*), usually one or two per year, for further study at the National University. Upon arrival in the capital, the tribute students were given an examination by the Hanlin Academy, and if they passed, they were then enrolled as students of the National University (*chien-sheng*). Those who failed the examination were sent back to their schools or relegated to become clerks, and the responsible school officials were punished.⁸) At the beginning of the Hung-wu reign, the National University had an enrollment of only a few hundred students. By the end of the reign, it had climbed to nearly 3,000 students. Towards the end of the Yung-lo reign (1403–1425), it reached a peak of nearly 10,000 students.⁹)

The National University played an important role in the recruitment of government officials long before the establishment of the Chinese examination system in the Sui dynasty (589–618). Historically, its beginnings can be traced back to the Chou dynasty (1122–221 B.C.), but the founding is usually considered to have taken place in the year 124 B.C., during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty. Since the Han, most dynasties established National Universities, variously known as *T'ai-hsüeh*, *Kuo-tzu hsüeh*, *Kuo-tzu chien*, *Ssu-men hsüeh*, etc. During certain periods, it is true, these schools existed more in name than in reality. But at other times, particularly during the major dynasties, the National University was an important route for entry into bureaucratic service.¹⁰)

The training students received at the Ming National University was broader and more oriented toward practical learning than in earlier dynasties. The study of Confucian classical texts naturally took up a major part of the curriculum, and each University student had to specialize in one of the Five Classics. But he also had to study law, mathematics, calligraphy, and archery, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century certain students were selected to study foreign languages. In earlier times there had been special schools for the study of such subjects, but it was only during the Ming that they became part of the National University curriculum which all students at the University had to follow.

There were certain books which all students were required to study and on which they were regularly examined. The most strictly enforced required reading was entitled *Ta-ka'o*, "The Great Proclamation," written by the emperor himself. Essentially it was a list of people T'ai-tsu had executed and their crimes, and was meant to serve as a warning for all students to be good and obedient. The book also contained admonitions to the people to be loyal to the throne, pay their taxes promptly, and render labor service exactly.¹¹)

From the point of view of usefulness to the students in their future official career, more important required texts were the "Ming Penal Code" *Ta-Ming Lü*

and the "Ming Statutes" *Ta-Ming Ling*. This emphasis on legal texts reflected T'ai-tsu's predilection to make the public school system practical and useful. In 1375, for example, he redefined the Six Arts (*liu-i*), the core of the traditional Chinese educational program, substituting law in place of charioteering.¹²⁾

Ming T'ai-tsu insisted that the training in all schools should be useful. In 1368 he ordered that schools were not to give instruction in empty literary studies (*hsü-wen*).¹³⁾ The following year, in a long edict addressed to the teachers of the National University, he pointed out the heavy responsibility involved in teaching the University students, who were the future leaders of the state. In educating these men, he said, the emphasis should be on "rectification of the mind" (*cheng-hsin*) and "solid learning" (*shih-hsüeh*).¹⁴⁾ In the first set of university statutes, which were laid down in 1382 by the emperor himself, it was prescribed that students at the University must take as the main objective of their study "to reach a thorough understanding of basic principles and be able to put one's {their} knowledge to practical application" (*ming-t'i shih-yung*), so as to prepare themselves for an official career.¹⁵⁾

To insure that students were really able to apply their knowledge to practical affairs and in order to better prepare them for their future responsibilities as civil servants, in 1372 Ming T'ai-tsu introduced a system of intern service (*li-shih*) as part of the training of the National University students. Under this system, students who had fulfilled all residence and academic requirements at the University, before being appointed as officials, had to serve for some time, usually one to three years, as apprentice officials in some government agency in the capital. Upon completion of their service, the interns were examined on their ability to handle administrative business. Those who passed the examination with honors grades were then appointed to official posts. Those who had only average grades were required to continue their intern training, while those who failed the examination were sent back to the University for further study or were demoted to become sub-officials or clerks. There was a definite link between a student's performance on the intern assignment and the official appointment he was later given. During their intern training students had to remain in residence at the University, were required to check in at their dormitories each night, and were in all other matters still subject to the school regulations.¹⁶⁾

The daily work of the students at the National University was strictly scheduled. The first and fifteenth of each month were holidays. On those days students only had to attend a ceremony at the Confucian Temple and were then free to leave the University compound if they wished. The rest of the month was divided according to a monthly schedule into days for "lectures" (*hui-chiang*), "student lectures" (*fu-chiang*), and reciting (*pei-shu*). Six days were reserved for lectures, seven for student lectures, and thirteen for reciting. On lecture days all students and teachers, assembled in the lecture hall, listened to one of the teachers explain some passage in the required reading. During these lectures the

teachers normally sat while the students had to remain standing, except when the topic of the lecture was one of the imperial writings, in which case the teachers lectured standing and the students listened in kneeling position. On days for student lectures, students were called upon by lot to discuss (lit. "to explain back") given passages already lectured on by one of the teachers.¹⁷⁾

Reciting was conducted in class, one student at a time also according to lot and under the supervision of a teaching official. On such days students had to recite a passage of one hundred characters each from his Classic, the Four Books, and the *Ta-kao*. Those who could not do this, or recited the passages without understanding the meaning, were punished.¹⁸⁾ Students were also required to hand in 256 characters of calligraphy each day and six short papers each month. The papers could be on some topic from the Classic or the Four Books, or be an exercise in the writing of official documents such as imperial edicts and memorials. In a special Lecture and Recitation Register (*chiang-sung pu*) students were required to write down each day what they had studied, recited, or lectured on during the day.

There were six departments or "halls" (*t'ang*), which were in turn divided up into three grades. After a year and a half in the first grade a student could, if he had fulfilled the academic requirements, advance to the second grade, where he had to spend another year and a half before he could go on to the third and highest grade.¹⁹⁾ In order to graduate, students in the third grade were required to accumulate eight credit points on the monthly examinations within one year. This was known as the "credit accumulation system" (*chi-fen fa*). Since one could obtain a maximum of one point at each examination, students had to get honors grades on two-thirds of all exams in a year.

Normally students would spend at least four years at the University before they were appointed to internships and then as officials. The posts University students were appointed to were not limited to any particular kind of office, nor was there a fixed level of rank. In general, during the Hung-wu reign, and especially in the early years of the reign when the need for officials was greater, students from the National University had excellent opportunities for high official appointment immediately after their training was completed. The highest post to which a student was appointed was administration commissioner (*pu-cheng shih*) of a province. Most graduates, however, seem to have been appointed as officials in the prefectural, subprefectural, or district governments, or as local teaching officials. Especially from the Yung-lo reign on, students had to content themselves with somewhat lower positions with which to begin their official career.²⁰⁾ This was due partly to the slowing pace of circulation within the bureaucracy. More importantly, however, it reflected keener competition for official posts both by an increasingly larger number of University graduates and by an also increasingly larger number of aspiring bureaucrats who passed through the *chin-shih* examination route. Nonetheless, in the Yung-lo and Hung-hsi

(1425–1426) reigns more than fifty percent of high officials in the Six Ministries and the Censorate had come through the National University route.”)

* * *

The Statutes of the Ming National University are invaluable aids for the historian wishing to reassess the institutional importance of the early Ming educational system. They show that the founder of the Ming dynasty, Emperor T'ai-tsu, intended the National University to be a school for the molding of an obedient and capable cadre of government officials. Moreover, the University Statutes provide a unique insight into the daily activities of the University staff and students. From them one can obtain a fair picture of university life during the early Ming period.

Almost every aspect of student life was minutely regulated by the Statutes, and discipline was strictly enforced. All material needs were provided by the government. Students were provided with and required to wear a blue long gown called *lan-shan*, which by imperial order was specially designed to distinguish the students from minor government functionaries.²²⁾ All meals were taken, officials and students together, in two large dining halls. Three meals were served at fixed times, and students who missed these meals would have to go without food that day. Students were not only prohibited from singing, drinking and making a racket in the dormitories at night, they were also forbidden to do so outside the University on holidays. In many ways life at the National University bore a resemblance to life at a military regiment. Perhaps this reflects Ming T'ai-tsu's military background.²³⁾ In any case, Ming student life provides a striking contrast with the Sung University, “where rich youngsters gathered and enjoyed their exuberant youth.”²⁴⁾

The Ming National University Statutes thus dealt both with matters of organization of personnel and activities within the University as well as with the social and moral conduct of teachers and students. They were printed by the University and were classified as an Imperial Decree (*chih-shu*). Students had to memorize them, and those who could not recite the complete text would have their food rations withheld. The death of one student due to starvation was perhaps the result of too strict enforcement of this requirement.²⁵⁾

The Proctor (*chien-ch'eng*) was charged with the heavy responsibility to see to it that laws and regulations were obeyed and that proper order was maintained in the University. He had the authority to apprehend and prosecute violators or suspects, and to conduct investigations. For most offences he was also authorized to mete out and administer the punishment. The more serious offences, however, had to be referred to higher authority, usually the emperor, which meant that the offender would be punished according to the law of the dynasty. The Proctor also had powers to impeach University officials and other

personnel at the University. But the Statutes also provided that if the Proctor himself was guilty of some crime or injustice, University officials and students had the right to impeach him.

The Proctor's office was known as the "Office for Correcting Misdemeanor" (*Sheng-ch'ien t'ing*). It was equipped with two red benches (*hung-teng*) on which the students received their punishment, which consisted usually of beatings with the light bamboo. To administer the chastisement there were three Lictors (*chih-t'ing tsao-li*) attached to the office.²⁶) The punishments mentioned in the Statutes ranged from a simple warning and an annotation in the Register of Accumulated Misdemeanors, to 100 blows of the heavy bamboo and exile.

It is perhaps typical of the reign of Ming T'ai-tsu that the most severe punishment was reserved for the offence of criticizing one's superiors. In the second set of regulations for the University, compiled by the emperor himself, it was stipulated that anyone who criticized or insulted their teachers and superiors, stirred up trouble, or brought false accusations against others would be punished with 100 blows of the heavy bamboo and then exiled to Yünnan for military service. In 1394 one student was executed by T'ai-tsu for having criticized school officials in a wall paper.²⁷)

On the other hand, traditional Chinese legal practice normally reserved the most severe punishments for those crimes which were considered injurious to public morality (*shang-feng pai-su*). Disrespect for elders and superiors, and especially teachers, was considered abnormal and against the fundamental principles of ethical and social life. Thus, to a certain extent the University Statutes were within the limits of Chinese legal tradition. But T'ai-tsu's excessive and arbitrary use of cruel punishments was unprecedented. In a decree issued in 1397, T'ai-tsu ordered that if any student criticized his teachers and superiors in an anonymous wall paper he should be punished by the most severe of capital punishments, death by slicing (*ling-ch'ih*), his property confiscated, and his family members deported to a malarial region.²⁸) It is unlikely, however, that this grisly punishment was ever applied to any student at the National University. T'ai-tsu died the following year, and later emperors were less harsh.

The second set (B) of regulations are particularly noteworthy as they were written by the emperor himself and reveal Ming T'ai-tsu's concerns and expectations with regard to the National University. The regulations were adopted from an imperial decree issued in 1382 and were edited into twelve articles by Liu Chung-chih, who was then the Minister of Rites. In both style and content these regulations differ from the other three sets of regulations, especially from the third (C) and fourth (D) sets. It is interesting that no less than five of these twelve regulations deal with food. Perhaps this was because T'ai-tsu, as a military man, knew that food was a usual object of complaint among soldiers. In any case, it shows his rather practical approach to the maintenance of discipline at the University. Another interesting point is the comparatively

practical nature of the punishments in these regulations. In B 2, B 4, B 10, and B 12, for example, the punishments include military and labor service as well as corporal punishment.²⁹⁾

The heavy use of corporal punishment in the Ming National University also reflects T'ai-tsu's insistence on strict discipline and should not be taken as typical for traditional Chinese university education. At the Sung National University, corporal punishments were rarely used and only for more serious offences.³⁰⁾ During the Yüan dynasty students at the National University were punished by having credit points deducted or, in case of senior students, by being temporarily suspended from taking the examinations. For repeated violations students were expelled from the University.³¹⁾

As for the Ch'ing dynasty, many of the articles in the University Statutes were copied directly from the Ming University Statutes. Articles A 1-5, A 8, B 2, B 10, and D 26, for instance, were incorporated into the Ch'ing University Statutes almost verbatim. In the Ch'ing regulations, however, there were fewer references to the type of penalties that the violations would incur, and only in a couple of articles were the punishments actually spelled out. No reference was made to corporal punishment.³²⁾

In 1386 Ming T'ai-tsu published, as part of his third volume of the *Ta-kao*, a list of some 364 *chin-shih* degree holders and National University students who had been found guilty of some offence and had been sentenced to death, exile, penal servitude, or flogging with the heavy bamboo. According to T'ai-tsu, however, only six were actually executed; three because they had violated the law three or four times, and another three because they had violated the law three times and were also guilty of slandering the government (*fei-pang*). The remaining 358 (mostly first time offenders) had been shown leniency and were retained in government service or returned to the university to continue their studies.³³⁾

It would thus seem that students sentenced to the more severe penalties of exile and banishment were able to get away with a mere flogging for their first and second offences. But the display of leniency was an imperial prerogative. Officials of the National University were expected to enforce strict discipline, and anyone who dared to be lax or show leniency risked not only his job but also severe punishment. The regulations prescribed that the university officials were to be held responsible for the behaviour of the students and that, if a student violated the regulations as a result of negligence or laxity on part of a university official, both the official and the student should be punished.³⁴⁾

In 1383 the Chancellor of the University, Wu Yung, was dismissed for having been too lenient and unable to keep a tight hand upon the students.³⁵⁾ Shortly thereafter, the emperor issued a special edict with warnings to the Proctor, Registrar (*tien-pu*), and Quartermaster (*chang-chuan*), saying that if they did not attend to their duties with strictness, they would be punished with 100 blows of the round stick (*yüan-kun*) and furthermore, if they were still alive, thereupon

banished to Yünnan.³⁶⁾

The man who succeeded Wu Yung as Chancellor of the University fully met the emperor's expectations as a University official. This was the notoriously stern Sung Na, who served as Chancellor from 1383 until his death in 1390. Sung Na became known for his strict enforcement of the school regulations, some of which are said to have been laid down by him personally, and he was feared by both students and teachers.³⁷⁾ In 1385 a lower University official, Chin Wen-cheng, attempted to have Sung Na removed. Alarmed by the unreasonable harshness of the Chancellor, which had caused one student to die from starvation, he wrote a letter to the Ministry of Personnel, suggesting that Sung Na be retired. The plan failed, however, and T'ai-tsu ordered Chin and the Minister of Personnel executed. He then issued a decree commending Sung Na for his strict management of the University.³⁸⁾

Some twelve years later, in 1397, in a decree issued in the colloquial addressed to the students and the teachers of the National University, T'ai-tsu lamented the fact that later chancellors had changed the regulations which Sung Na had helped to establish, with the result that students no longer attended diligently to their studies. The emperor warned that from then on any student who dared violate the school regulations would be dismissed from school and deported to some distant region.³⁹⁾

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During the Hung-wu reign four sets of regulations for the National University were issued: two in 1382, comprising (A) nine and (B) twelve articles respectively. Both of these sets seem to have been authored by Ming T'ai-tsu himself. Another set (C) of eight articles was laid down in 1383, and a final set (D) of twenty-seven articles was issued in 1387.⁴⁰⁾ Together the fifty-six articles became known as the National University Statutes (*chien-kuei*). They were repromulgated in the early Yung-lo reign and remained the basic statutes for both the Peking and Nanking Universities throughout the dynasty. The texts of the Statutes included in the *Nan-yung chih*, the *Huang-Ming T'ai-hsüeh chih*, the *Ta-Ming hui-tien*, and the *Huang-Ming chih-shu* are almost identical. Unless otherwise indicated the translation follows the *Nan-yung chih* version.

STATUTES (*chien-kuei*)
OF THE
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY⁽¹⁾

At the beginning of the {Ming} dynasty a *Kuo-tzu hsüeh* was founded. In Hung-wu 15.3 (1382), when the name was changed to *Kuo-tzu chien*, Emperor T'ai-tsu laid down the school regulations (*hsüeh-kuei*) in nine articles and had these promulgated.⁽²⁾ In the same year, on the 27th of the fifth month, the Minister of Rites Liu Chung-chih and others received an imperial decree which was subsequently itemized into a set of school regulations in twelve articles.⁽³⁾ Together with the previous nine articles, these were then printed and distributed to the teachers and students.

On Hung-wu 16.1.18 (1383), the Emperor appointed Sung Na to become the Chancellor (*chi-chiu*) of the National University and established the position of Erudites of the Five Classics (*wu-ching po-shih*). An additional eight articles of school regulations were drafted.⁽⁴⁾ In response to a memorial presented during evening court in the Eastern Courtyard (*Tung-yüan*) that same day, by officials from the Bureau of Remonstrance (*Chien-yüan*) and the Hanlin Academy (*Han-lin yüan*), the Emperor ordered that the regulations be promulgated and enforced.

On Hung-wu 30.7.20 (1397) the Acting Chancellor (*Shu chi-chiu shih*) and Assistant Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*T'ai-ch'ang ssu-ch'eng*) Chang Hsien-tsung, the Acting Director of Studies (*Shu ssu-yeh shih*) and Compiler (*Hsiu-chuan*) of the Hanlin Academy Han K'o-chung, and others together with the Ministry of Rites drafted additional school regulations, which were then presented to the Emperor, who personally revised them and laid down twenty-seven articles.⁽⁵⁾ Together with the earlier regulations there were then a total of fifty-six articles. After these had been observed for a long period of time, they became known as the Statutes of the National University (*chien-kuei*).

Regulations laid down by imperial
order in Hung-wu 15.3 (1382)⁽⁶⁾

A 1

The head officials (*cheng-kuan*) of the University will at dawn each morning proceed to the {I-lun} Hall (I-lun t'ang, "Hall of constant moral order") and assume their seats. The subordinate officials (*shu-kuan*) in proper order will then enter the Hall, where they will take their assigned positions and perform the greeting ceremony.⁽⁷⁾ The head officials will receive the greetings seated. The subordinate officials will then divide into an eastern and a western row and, facing each other, perform the greeting. When the ceremony is completed, they will return to their respective positions and wait for the students of each

department (*t'ang*)⁴⁰ to perform the greeting, and only after that ceremony is finished will they withdraw. In the evening the procedure will be the same.

A 2

Whenever subordinate officials of the University come to the {I-lun} Hall to report or discuss university affairs, or to ask questions on the Classics or the Histories, they must listen standing with their hands folded and speak only when it is their turn. It is not permitted to sit down as one may please.

The head officials, on the other hand, must not demand empty flattery from their subordinates. Nor is it allowed for them to rise abruptly from their seats, and thus confuse the system of decorum. It is essential that proper relationships and order be maintained, so that there will be an example worthy of respect and emulation.

A 3

The head officials of the University will be in charge of general management. In handling all affairs they must be orderly and dignified in appearance. They must firmly establish the rules and regulations and serve as leaders for the subordinate officials and as models for the younger generation. They must not be like those who, neglecting their duties, sit on their posts like mere corpses collecting salary, inviting indolence to prevail.

A 4

The responsibility of the Proctor (*chien-ch'eng*) is to assist in the management of University affairs. Whenever there are such cases as teachers who are negligent in their instruction, or students who violate the regulations or perform poorly in their studies, or when the food is not clean, the Proctor will conduct an investigation and have the offenders punished. He must at all times exert himself to be just and to enforce strict discipline. He must in no case let his decision be influenced by feelings, for this would undermine the discipline.

A 5

The Erudites (*po-shih*), the Lecturers (*chu-chiao*), the Preceptors (*hsüeh-cheng*), and the Teaching Assistants (*hsüeh-lu*) will be in charge of teaching. It is their responsibility to establish firmly the curriculum and devotedly carry on their instruction, so that the best possible results may be achieved. If there are teachers who are lazy and unable to establish their authority, with the result that students violate the regulations, when this is made known and brought before the authorities concerned, all parties involved will be punished.

A 6

Students at the University must take as the main objective of their study to reach

a thorough understanding of basic principles and to be able to put their knowledge to practical application (*ming-t'i shih-yung*), so as to prepare themselves for an official career. Each student must respectfully follow the instructions of their teachers and obey rules and regulations. In all their daily activities, whether within the school or outside, whether in the lecture hall or in the dining hall, on no account may a student break the school regulations. Violators will be severely punished.

A 7

The Quartermaster (*chang-chuan*) is in charge of providing meals for the teachers and the students. He must respectfully attend to the responsibilities of his office. It is his duty to make sure that the food is plentiful and clean. He is strictly forbidden to collude with the cooks and kitchen assistants to appropriate supplies for their own use and thereby create insufficiency. Violators will be prosecuted according to the law.

A 8

The Registrar (*tien-pu*) is in charge of documents. Clear documentation is necessary in matters relating to studies, the payment of money or grain stipends, the quarterly report on academic performance, etc. The Registrar is strictly forbidden to maintain any secret contact with clerks and others in order to appropriate University funds and make changes and omissions in the accounts. Violators will be indicted and punished according to the law.

A 9

The monthly schedule of days for reciting and lecturing as originally decided is:“)

1st	holiday	16th	reciting
2nd	lecture (<i>hui-chiang</i>)	17th	reciting
3d	lecture	18th	student lecture
4th	reciting (<i>pei-shu</i>)	19th	reciting
5th	student lecture (<i>fu-chiang</i>)	20th	reciting
6th	student lecture	21st	lecture
7th	reciting	22nd	reciting
8th	lecture	23d	reciting
9th	reciting	24th	student lecture
10th	reciting	25th	lecture
11th	student lecture	26th	reciting
12th	reciting	27th	student lecture
13th	reciting	28th	student lecture
14th	lecture	29th	reciting
15th	holiday	30th	student lecture

Regulations laid down in
Hung-wu 15 (1383)^(*)

B 1

A school is a place where first priority should be given to rules of proper behaviour and moral cultivation. When the students of the different departments each day recite or receive instruction in the Classics or the Histories, they will all stand together in front of the teacher, listening attentively to the lecture or exposition. If they have questions, they must listen to the answer in kneeling position. It is forbidden to be overbearing or to violate the rules of propriety and the law.

B 2

Students at the University must take as the most fundamental the principles of being filial and brotherly, loyal and trustworthy, following rules of propriety and righteousness, and being incorruptible and have a sense of shame. They must honor their teachers and befriend their fellow students, and cultivate a sincere mind, so that in their future careers they will be able to put these principles into practice.

If there are those who slander or insult their teachers or superiors, or stir up trouble or bring false accusations against others, it will be considered a violation of both ethical and legal norms (*kan-ming fan-i*)^(*) and injurious to public morality (*yu shang feng-hua*). The punishment for such a crime will be 100 blows of the heavy bamboo and military exile to the Yünnan region.

B 3

The purpose of establishing a university is to educate students, expounding the neo-Confucian teachings of Nature and Principle, so that the students may reach a thorough understanding of basic principles and be able to put their knowledge to practical application.

Henceforth, students will be allowed to study only within their own department. Each attending to his own studies will then constantly improve. Students are forbidden to visit other departments and induce each other to discuss the merits and demerits of other people, forming cliques and engaging in all sorts of wicked activities. Violators will be investigated by the Sheng-ch'ien t'ing, "Office for Correcting Misdemeanor", and severe punishment will be meted out.

B 4

Concerning meals for teachers and students, the office of Quartermaster has already been established to be in sole charge of these matters; there are kitchen assistants and others to carry on the duties, and there are already regulations for

the taking of meals in the dining hall. Therefore, henceforth it will not be permitted, as has previously been the practice, to set up Dining Hall Students (*chien-chuan sheng-yüan*) to oversee the meals.

Every day students must eat their meals together in the dining hall. It is forbidden to enter the kitchen, discuss the quality of the food, or beat the cook. Violators will be punished with 50 blows of the light bamboo and then relegated to commoner status and sent back to their home towns, so that they themselves will have to do labor service.

B 5

The teachers in the different departments will select from each class (*pan*)³² one sincere and diligent student to serve as Student Prefect (*chai-chang*) and be the leader for the other students. Each day four Student Prefects, selected from the different studios (*chai*)³³ on a rotating basis, will be on duty at the I-lun Hall, checking that proper ceremony is observed and arranging the classes in their correct order. They will also supervise the school work of the students in their various studios. It will not be permitted, as was done before, to set up Student Chamberlains (*chang-i*) with the sole function of being in charge of all administrative matters, since that would interfere with the school work of the students on duty.

B 6

The students of each department will be responsible for the maintenance of the department halls and dormitories. Utensils and equipment have been fully provided and must always be kept clean. Loafers and idlers may not enter the buildings. If any person in the University spoils or damages any University property, he will be prosecuted by the officials of the Sheng-ch'ien t'ing and punished.

B 7

University officials, as well as students, whether *kuan-sheng*, "official students", or *min-sheng*, "commoner students",³⁴ may not bring household servants or page boys into the University and thus upset and corrupt the established order. Violators will be prosecuted and punished by the Sheng-ch'ien t'ing.

B 8

The Quartermaster is in charge of providing food and drink. He must respectfully attend to his duties and must not be impolite. If there are teachers or students who, on account of illness, can not go to the dining hall, it will be permitted to have one of the kitchen assistants deliver the meal. If there are those who are not sick and yet do not come to take their meals together with the group, they will be denied all food or drink that day.

B 9

In addition to the three regular meals, no one will be given tea or snacks, nor hot water for bathing. Anyone who attempts to obtain these things through cunning manipulation will be prosecuted and punished by the Sheng-ch'ien t'ing. Furthermore, he will have his name and the violation listed in the Register of Accumulated Misdemeanors (*chi-ch'ien ts'e*).

B 10

The Proctor will be in charge of the Register of Accumulated Misdemeanors. If the students in the different departments dare disobey the school regulations, they will immediately be prosecuted and punished. In addition, the violation will be recorded in the Register of Accumulated Misdemeanors, so that it will be taken into account in the overall evaluation of the student.

First time offenders will only be recorded. Second time offenders will receive five blows of the bamboo. Third time offenders will receive ten blows. Fourth time offenders, will in accordance with precedent, be sentenced to banishment (*fa-ch'ien an-chih*).

B 11

Food and supplies for the teachers and the students is amply provided for at the University, and no item should be in shortage. If the official in charge should follow the fraudulent practice of the former Registrar*) who, instead of distributing the available supplies, had the market stewards or kitchen assistants each day appropriate some oil, salt, soy sauce, vinegar, or other provisions, henceforth, if the new Registrar is guilty of such corruption, the students will be permitted to memorialize the throne directly.

B 12

The number of students at the University is sometimes so great that they can be counted by the thousands. At other times it may be seven or eight hundred, which is considered average, or merely a hundred, which is few. The government is aware of the fact that there is a type of student who has no ambition to learn. Such students usually do not seek guidance from their teachers but devote themselves solely to forming cliques and being obstinate, and deliberately commenting on the food as being unclean and poor. A thorough investigation will be made to find out from what family such a student comes.

Thousands of students eat this food and all find it agreeable. If you alone were to consider it poor, would that make you a superior man, or perhaps just a petty fellow (*hsiao-jen*)?

In the future whenever such troublemakers appear, a report stating the true facts will be drawn up and presented to the throne. The Grand Court of Revision*) will then take measures to apprehend the culprit and have him confined in cangue

and handcuffs. For the rest of his life he shall work as a servant at the University, waiting on the other students.

Regulations laid down by imperial
order in Hung-wu 16.1 (1383)⁷⁾

C 1

The head officials will firmly establish the school regulations and the courses of study in the six departments. They will assign each student to one of the three grades (see *C 4*), and each teacher to his proper place within the six departments.

C 2

Two Directors of Studies (*ssu-yeh*), one of the left and one of the right, will be in charge of three departments each.

C 3

The five Erudites, although divided up one on each of the Five Classics, will jointly hold office in the western section of the I-lun Hall. They will teach in all six departments and examine the students on the Classic in which they specialize.

C 4

Students who have mastered the Four Books but not yet their Classic will be registered in the Cheng-i (defining the sense of right) Department, the Ch'ung-chih (make noble one's ambition) Department, or the Kuang-yeh (make broad one's learning) Department. Those who have spent more than one and a half year in one of these departments and have shown excellence both in literary style and in reasoning ability, may be advanced to the Hsiu-tao (cultivating the Way) Department or the Ch'eng-hsin (make sincere the mind) Department. Students, who have been in residence in one of these two departments at least one and a half years, have a good command of both Classics and History, and have shown excellence in both style and reasoning will be admitted to the Shuai-hsing (following one's true nature) Department.

C 5

Concerning the residence requirement for students, each department will set up an Attendance Register (*k'an-ho wen-pu*). On the top line {of each page} the students' names will be listed. Under each name there will be thirty ruled squares, one for each day of the month.⁸⁾ For each day of residence a red circle will be printed in one of the squares. If the student has "legitimate cause" to be absent (*shih-ku*),⁹⁾ a black circle will be printed. Each student must accumulate 700 "in-residence circles" (*tso-t'ang ch'üan*) before he may be admitted to the Shuai-hsing Department.

C 6

Concerning students' daily studies, a Lecture and Recitation Register (*chiang-sung pu*) must be maintained, in which the student must write down each day, under his name, what he has lectured on, recited, or studied, so that this information will be available for inspection.

C 7

Students who have legitimate cause for absence must maintain a {Attendance} Register. Those who merely ask for vacation must file a petition with the office of the Chancellor, requesting that a time limit be set. It is forbidden arbitrarily to apply to one's own department for permission to leave school.

C 8

Only students who have been admitted to the Shuai-hsing Department may accumulate credit points. The credit point system (*chi-fen chih fa*) will be as follows:

In the first month of each quarter students will be examined on their interpretation of the Classic in which they specialize by one essay question. In the second month they will be examined on their ability to write one free discussion (*lun*) and one essay in the style of any one of the following types of official documents: proclamation (*chao*), announcement (*kao*), and two types of memorials (*chang* and *piao*). In the third month they will write one essay (*ts'e*) on subjects from the Classics and the Histories, and two judgements to given cases (*p'an-yü*).

In each examination, if both the style and the reasoning are good, the student will be given one point. If the reasoning is good but the style inferior he will be given half a point. If both reasoning and style are inferior and with mistakes, no point will be given. Those who accumulate eight points in one year will be considered to have passed and will be given status qualifying them for official appointment (*ch'u-shen*). Those who do not obtain the required number of credit points must remain at the University and continue their study.

The method of examination will be exactly like that of the civil service examination system. If there are students who display particularly outstanding talent, they will be recommended to the Emperor for special appointment.

Regulations laid down by imperial
order in Hung-wu 20 (1387)⁶⁰

D 1

The teachers of the different departments must set an example for the students by

cultivating themselves the proper forms of behaviour, by maintaining proper dress, and by leading the students in being diligent and respectful. Thus, they will give the students something to look up to and serve as a model for the younger generation.

Henceforth, teachers who indulge in idleness by deliberately pretending to be stupid or who lose their dignity of demeanor will be investigated by the Proctor and reported to the authorities, so that appropriate measures may be taken. If the Proctor deliberately fails to bring the matter to the attention of the authorities or if, because of personal reasons, he investigates and impeaches somebody who should not be impeached, the officials of the University should memorialize the throne for a decision.

D 2

Students' clothes and headgear must conform with the standards set by the court. It is forbidden to wear the clothing of common people and thus mix with the multitude. Violators will be severely punished.⁶¹⁾

D 3

Every third day is reserved for recitation. Each time, the students must recite one hundred characters from the Great Proclamation (*Ta-kao*), one hundred characters from the Classic in which they specialize, and one hundred characters from the Four Books. Merely remembering the words will not be sufficient. Students must have a thorough understanding of the meaning of the text. Those who can neither recite nor explain the text will be punished with 10 blows of the bamboo.

D 4

Each month, the students must write six exercises: two papers elucidating the Classic in which they specialize; two papers elucidating the Four Books; and two papers in the format of two of the following types of writings: proclamation (*chao*), announcement (*kao*), two types of memorials (*chang* and *piao*), essay (*ts'e*), free discussion (*lun*), or judgement (*p'an-yü*). It is not permitted to write fewer than the set number of papers. Furthermore, the papers must be completed and handed in for correction during the same month, so that they can serve as basis for the grading and classification of the students. Violators will be severely punished.

D 5

Each day the students will write one sheet of calligraphy. Each sheet must be sixteen lines long with sixteen characters to the line and must be written in the style of one of the following masters: Wang Hsi-chih, Wang Hsien-chih, Chih-yung, Ou-yang Hsün, Yü Shih-nan, Yen Chen-ch'ing, or Liu Kung-ch'üan.⁶²⁾

All strokes must be in the formal (*k'ai*) style of writing and have a correct appearance. The sheet must be handed in for correction the same day to the office of the teacher in charge of one's class. Those who receive the fewest correction circles over the characters will be given the highest grade. Each month there will be a summary evaluation of the students' progress. Violators will be severely punished.

D 6

On the first and the fifteenth of each month the Shih-ts'ai Ceremony will be held. Every student of each class must proceed to the {Confucian} Temple and together with his class take part in the ceremony. Those who dare to be lazy or disrespectful and are not present at the roll call will be severely punished.

D 7

Whenever a student meets a teacher or superior, whether inside or outdoors, he must stop and remain standing with his hands folded in greeting and wait for his superior to pass by. If he is asked a question, he must answer promptly. It is forbidden to be overbearing or rude or to disregard the rules of proper behaviour. Violators will be severely punished.

D 8

Whenever a student is unclear about some interpretation he must time and again, but choosing the right occasion, ask the teacher for instruction. It is forbidden to be disrespectful to one's teacher by leaving problems unquestioned and harboring doubts in one's mind. Violators will be severely punished.

D 9

Whenever a student has some administrative business, he must first file a report at the teachers' office in his own department. The Hall Assistant (*t'ang-chang*) will take the student to the {I-lun} Hall and file a petition.⁴⁹ It is forbidden to go directly to the Hall and thereby cause confusion. Violators will be severely punished.

D 10

Each class will be given one Exit and Entry Pass (*ch'u-kung ju-ching p'ai*)⁵⁰ which will be kept by the Student of the Day (*chih-jih sheng-yüan*). Whenever a student must go somewhere, he must have a Pass. Students who leave their class unauthorized without a Pass, or try to hide the Pass, will be severely punished.

D 11

If a student is ill and does not have a wife and children, he will be allowed to stay in the infirmary to recuperate. He must not walk around or stay overnight in the

dormitories. Those who have wife and children at the University will stay at home. If a student pretending to be ill has gone outside the University to loaf around and this is discovered at the roll call (*yen-cha*) he will be severely punished and then ordered immediately to return to his class.

D 12

Students serving as interns in the various government offices must each night return to the University. It is forbidden to spend the night outside and create trouble. Those who have not checked in by the end of the day (5 p.m.—7 p.m.) or are not present at the roll call will be severely punished.⁶⁵)

D 13

At meals students must observe proper behaviour, be orderly, and eat and drink with respect. It is forbidden to shout or make noises or to get up from one's chair. It is also forbidden to force the kitchen assistants to bring food outside of the dining hall, thus illegally increasing the University's food expenditure. Violators will be severely punished.

D 14

In the morning and evening when students proceed to the {I-lun} Hall they must each personally show the Pass⁶⁶) and answer the roll call. Their clothing must be proper and their pace moderate. It is forbidden to break the line, make noises, or otherwise disregard the rules of proper behaviour. Violators and those who are absent at the roll call will be severely punished.

D 15

When in residence in the University, students must at all times maintain a polite and grave countenance, be sincere and diligent in their studies, revere their teachers, and cultivate friendship with their fellow students. They must be able to explain clearly the principles of morality and exhort one another to do good.

It is forbidden to be leisurely or lazy, to take off one's cap or loosen up one's clothes, to be noisy and to make fun of people, or to visit other classes and talk about other people's faults. Violators will be severely punished.

D 16

Whenever students go to the lecture hall to recite their texts, they must each stand in their given place within the class, and they will then recite the texts according to lot. Students who change their place in the line, shout or quarrel, or otherwise create disturbances will be severely punished.

D 17

Each night, the students must sleep in their prescribed dormitories. It is

forbidden to sing and drink at night or, intoxicated with wine, to shout or brawl in a loud voice. Violators, as well as those who are absent at the roll call, will all be sentenced and punished.

D 18

During holidays on the first and fifteenth of each month, it is strictly forbidden to get drunk outside the University, falling over in the street and sleeping in the alleys, causing trouble and fighting to occur, and injuring public morality. Violators will be severely punished.

D 19

The inner (*nei hao-fang*) and outer dormitories (*wai hao-fang*)⁶⁷ must always be kept clean. This being the rule, if before the roll call at each dormitory it is discovered that someone has defiled University property, he will be severely punished.

D 20

Whether within or outside of the main compound, students are forbidden to bring household servants to stay overnight in University dormitories, thus creating trouble and provoking wicked behaviour. Violators will be severely punished.

D 21

All students have been assigned to numbered dormitories. It is forbidden to secretly exchange or take somebody else's place. Violators will be severely punished.

D 22

As for the selection and official appointment of University students, as well as their recruitment for special commissions (*ch'ai-shih*)⁶⁸ or intern service (*pan-shih*), should anyone dare try to avoid the appointment through hiding and not go to the administration office to receive the appointment order, a memorial will be sent to the throne for a decision.

D 23

Students on intern service in the various government offices must, when their work is completed for the day, immediately return to the University and continue their study. It is forbidden to remain outside and create trouble. Violators will be severely punished.

D 24

Concerning students who apply for permission to visit their parents (*sheng-ch'in*) or return home to bring their families with them to the University (*pan-ch'ü*) there

is already established precedent. Those who do not obey these rules and arbitrarily submit memorials on their own will be punished.

D 25

Mourning for one's parents and getting married are major ritual observances in a man's life. Anyone who fabricates or falsely claims such an occasion as reason for vacation is not only violating the existing clearly written laws, it is also obvious that such a student is not fit to be educated. Henceforth, whenever a student must attend to any such matter as mourning or his own wedding, he may inform the University officials who will then file a petition at the Ministry of Rites.

In addition to the already existing regulations concerning mourning, there will be fixed time limits for wedding leave, and a travel certificate (*yin*) will be granted which must be handed in upon return to the University.⁹⁰ After the student's return, a communication should be sent immediately to have the matter verified. If fraud is discovered, the student will be punished forthwith according to the law.

D 26

All official business a student may have should first be reported to the University authorities. The University will then petition the Ministry of Rites for a decision and for a memorial to the throne asking for an imperial decision. Only when the report filed by the student conforms with actual facts, but was rejected by the University authorities, will the student be permitted to petition directly to the Ministry of Rites. It is forbidden not to go through the proper channels.

D 27

If even only once a student violates any of these regulations, after he has received the punishment, the transgression will immediately be recorded at the Sheng-ch'ien t'ing. If a student repeatedly violates the regulations and does not reform himself, the matter will be memorialized to the throne for a decision.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

DMB	Dictionary of Ming Biography
HMCS	Huang-Ming chih-shu
HMTHC	Huang-Ming T'ai-hsüeh chih
HNYC	Hsü Nan-yung chih
KCLCC	Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi
MS	Ming-shih
NYC	Nan-yung chih
SL	Ming Shih-lu: T'ai-tsu Shih-lu
TMHT	Ta-Ming hui-tien
YS	Yüan-shih

NOTES

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Yang Lien-sheng, who first introduced me to the Ming National University as a thesis topic, for all help and criticism in the preparation of this translation. For the content of the paper and any mistakes in the translation I am solely responsible.

¹⁾ Apart from the treatment in Tilemann Grimm's *Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit* (Hamburg, 1960), little has been written about the Ming National University in Western languages. In Chinese and Japanese there are a number of studies. The most extensive are those by Igarashi Shōichi in his *Chūgoku kinsei kyōikushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō-kai, 1979); Liu I-cheng, "Wu-pai nien ch'ien Nan-ching chih kuo-li ta-hsüeh," *Hsüeh-heng*, 13 and 14 (1923/24); and Lin Li-yüeh, *Ming-tai te Kuo-tzu chien sheng*, Kuo-li T'ai-wan shih-fan ta-hsüeh li-shih yen-chiu so chuan-k'an, 5 (1979). Other important studies are Wu Han, "Ming-ch'u te hsüeh-hsiao," in his *Tu-shih cha-chi* (Peking: San-lien, 1956); Taga Akigorō, "Kinsei chūgoku ni okeru kyōiku kōzō no seiritsu to Min Taiso no bunkyō seisaku," in Taga Akigorō, ed., *Kinsei Ajia kyōikushi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bunri shoen, 1966); and Tani Mitsutaka, "Mindai kansei no kenkyū – shikan no ichi hōto ni tsuite," in two parts, *Shigaku zasshi*, 73.4 and 6 (1964). The main primary sources for the study of the Ming National University are Huang Tso, *Nan-yung chih*, 24 *chüan*, published 1544 (I have used the Kiangsu Provincial Library 1931 reprint of the original Ming edition; hereafter NYC), which is a history of the Nanking University, and Kuo P'an, *Huang-Ming T'ai-hsüeh chih*, 12 *chüan*, preface dated 1557 (I have used a microfilm of the edition in the National Central Library in Taiwan; hereafter HMTHC), which is a history of the Peking University. A continuation of the NYC, covering the years 1522–1626, was compiled by Huang Ju-ping and published in 1626 under the title *Hsü Nan-yung chih*, 18 *chüan* (Taipei: Wei-wen t'u-shu ch'u-pan she, 1976 reprint of the 1626 edition preserved in the National Central Library in Taiwan; hereafter HNYC).

²⁾ Chinese characters to the romanizations may be found in the glossary following the footnotes.

³⁾ On the career of Chu Yüan-chang and the founding of the Ming dynasty see the article by Teng Ssu-yü in Goodrich, L.C. and Chaoying Fang, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976; hereafter DMB), pp. 381–392.

⁴⁾ NYC, 7.5a.

⁵⁾ NYC, 2.1a.

⁶⁾ See Lin Li-yüeh, pp. 40–83; and Yang Lien-sheng, "Ming local administration," in Hucker, C.O., ed., *Chinese government in Ming times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 13–14. See also Ho Ping-ti, *The ladder of success in imperial China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 32–33. For a discussion of the special need for officials in the Hung-wu reign and Ming T'ai-tsu's different recruitment methods: Sakakura Atsuhide, "Minsho chūshoshō no henshen," *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 36.1 (1977–78), pp. 63–91.

⁷⁾ Tani Mitsutaka, Part II, p. 72; *Ming Shih-lu : T'ai-tsu Shih-lu* (Academia Sinica reprint; hereafter SL), 187.7a. For a detailed description of the Ming school system see Grimm, chapters 3–5.

⁸⁾ NYC, 1.30a–31b; SL, 170.4b.

⁹⁾ NYC, 15.18a–21b.

¹⁰⁾ On the Chou University see Yang K'uan, "Wo-kuo ku-tai ta-hsüeh te t'e-tien chi ch'i ch'i-yüan, in his *Ku-shih hsin-t'an* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), pp. 197–217. For a convenient history of the National University from Chou to Ch'ing see Li Tsung-t'ung, et al., *Chung-kuo li-tai ta-hsüeh shih* (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan hui, 1958).

¹¹⁾ On the use of *Ta-kao* in the National University see NYC, 1.35a, and 42a. The Chinese historian Wu Han, writing in 1948, described the book as follows: "Judging from the poor grammar, shoddy thinking, vulgar language, rude style, and barbaric attitudes of the book, it was certainly not written for him by Confucian scholars." Wu Han, *Tu-shih cha-chi*, p. 340; translation from Pusey, J.R., *Wu Han : Attacking the present through the past* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 10.

¹²⁾ Liu I-cheng, *Chung-kuo wen-hua shih* (Nanking: Chung-shan shu-chü, 1932), volume 2, p. 246.

¹³⁾ Chang T'ing-yü, et al., *Ming-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974 punctuated edition; hereafter MS), 2.21.

¹⁴⁾ NYC, 1.8b.

¹⁵⁾ The phrase *ming-t'i shih-yung* seems to be a variation on the formula *ming-t'i ta-yung* which can be traced to the famous teacher and educational innovator Hu Yüan (993–1059) of the Northern Sung. In a famous conversation between Emperor Shen-tsung and Liu I (1017–1086), one of Hu Yüan's disciples, Liu summed up the teachings of his master in the phrase *ming-t'i ta-yung*. See Huang Tsung-hsi, *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1973), 1.17; and Kano Naoki, *Chügoku tetsugakushi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1953), p. 356. The idea was later adopted by such educational thinkers as Ch'eng Tuan-li (1271–1345) and Chang Chih-tung (1837–1909). See Ch'en Hung-mou, *Wu-chung i-kuei* (Taipei: Te-chih ch'u-pan she, 1961 edition), "Yang-cheng i-kuei," *pu-pien*, 4a; and Ayers, W., *Chang Chih-tung and educational reform in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 35.

¹⁶⁾ For detailed descriptions of the intern system see Igarashi Shōichi, "Mindai hatsureki seido kō," *Niigata Daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyū*, 10 (1956), pp. 19–39; Tani Mitsutaka, "Mindai kansei no kenkyū," Part I and II; and Wei Ch'ing-yüan, *Ming-tai huang-ts'e chih-tu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), pp. 151–168. The system has also been briefly described in J. Hagman, "Practical training for a new bureaucracy: The National University in the early Ming," (unpublished paper presented to the AAS Regional Conference at Storrs, Connecticut, October 20, 1979).

¹⁷⁾ The *hui-chiang* and *fu-chiang*, rather than "lectures" in our modern sense were sessions during which the lecturer would discuss and explicate given passages from the assigned readings. For a detailed description of the procedure during these lectures, as well as the procedure for reciting and composition writing, see HMTHC, 7.4a–6b.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. regulation D 3.

¹⁹⁾ This system of successive advancement through three grades was known as *sheng-t'ang fa*. It was first introduced by the Sung statesman and reformer Wang An-shih, and was then known as *san-she fa*, "three-level law." See Kracke, E. A., "The expansion of educational opportunity in the reign of Hui-tsung of the Sung and its implications," *Sung Studies Newsletter*, 13, pp. 6–30. At the Yüan National University it was known as *sheng-chai teng-ti*, "sequence of promotion in the studios." Sung Lien, et al., *Yüan-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976 punctuated edition; hereafter YS), 81.2030. In similar ways most of the organizational features of the Ming National University had been inherited from the Sung and Yüan dynasties.

²⁰⁾ For the type of offices National University students were appointed to see Lin Li-yüeh, chapter 3.

²¹⁾ Based on my own tabulation from Lei Li, *Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan she, 1970 reprint of the original Wan-li edition edited by Hsü Chien; hereafter KCLCC).

²²⁾ NYC, 1.44b.

²³⁾ The organization and activities as well as the strict discipline of the National University also bear a close resemblance to Zen monastic organization and discipline. See Martin Colcutt, *Five Mountains: The Zen monastic institution in medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). Such a comparison is particularly interesting since Ming T'ai-tsu is said to have spent some of his adolescent years in a Buddhist monastery. That school regulations (*hsüeh-kuei*) in the T'ang and Sung dynasties seem to have been modelled on the Zen monastic "pure rules" (*ch'ing-kuei*) has been pointed out by Wang Chien-ch'iu in his *Sung-tai t'ai-hsüeh yü t'ai-hsüeh sheng* (Taipei, 1965), p. 90. Nan Huai-chin has suggested that Ming T'ai-tsu was influenced by the "Pure rules of Master Pai-chang" (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*). See Nan Huai-chin, *Ch'an-tsung ts'ung-lin chih-tu yü Chung-kuo she-hui* (Taipei: I-wen shu-chü, 1964), p. 90.

²⁴⁾ Thomas Lee, "Life in the schools of Sung China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 37.1 (1977), pp. 54–55. Compared with the martial atmosphere of the Ming National University, discipline in the Sung University was lax. Students could move around freely in the city and there was no strict schedule of instruction. There are many stories about University students in the Southern Sung capital, Hangchow, going off to the scenic spots around West Lake to get drunk with friends and write poetry, or visiting prostitutes and make merry in the taverns and teahouses in the city. See Lee, p. 55f; and Wang Chien-ch'iu, pp. 232–238. As for the taking of meals at the University, whatever regulations there may have been do not seem to have been strictly enforced. One

account describes the scene in the dining hall as "students eating like monkeys, shouting and scolding the cooks, breaking the porcelain, using foul language, and laughing loudly" (Wang Chien-ch'iu, p. 237).

²⁵⁾ NYC, 1.34b and 18.2b.

²⁶⁾ NYC, 16.11b; Igarashi, pp. 210-240.

²⁷⁾ NYC, 1.50a.

²⁸⁾ NYC, 10.8b-9a. The reign of Ming T'ai-tsu is known for unprecedented use of terror and harsh punishments. For an excellent discussion of how philosophical and historical developments combined with factors such as the complex personality of Ming T'ai-tsu to bring "Chinese despotism" to its highest point at this time, see F.W. Mote, "The growth of Chinese despotism: A critique of Wittfogel's theory of Oriental Despotism as applied to China," *Oriens Extremus*, 8.1 (1961), pp. 1-41. See also DMB, pp. 386-387.

²⁹⁾ This particular feature may reflect Yüan legal practice, which stressed the imposition of physical pain and the utilization of labor rather than penalties of confinement. See Paul Ch'en, *Chinese legal tradition under the Mongols* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 47.

³⁰⁾ Even in such cases it appears that the beating was more symbolic than real. It was carried out in front of the assembled school officials and students. The offender was given a few blows of a black bamboo stick and was then stripped of his robe, to show that he was no longer a member of the scholarly community. See *Wu-teng hsüeh-kuei*, "Five-Grade School Regulations," in Chou Mi, *Kuei-hsin tsa-chih, hou-chi* (*Chin-tai mi-shu* edition), 9a-10a; quoted in Wang Chien-ch'iu, p. 120.

³¹⁾ YS, 81.2031 and 103.2637.

³²⁾ *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng, kuan-ch'ang tien* (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1977), *chüan* 387, p. 287.6.

³³⁾ Chang Lu, *Huang-Ming chih-shu* (Tokyo: Koten Kenkyü kai, 1966/67 edition; hereafter HMCS), volume 1, p. 127.

³⁴⁾ NYC, 9.3b.

³⁵⁾ NYC, 1.28b.

³⁶⁾ NYC, 10.4b-5a.

³⁷⁾ KCLCC, 158.24a.

³⁸⁾ NYC, 1.34a-b and 19.5a-6b.

³⁹⁾ NYC, 1.34b and 10.5b.

⁴⁰⁾ As for the authorship of the regulations, both (A) and (B) appear to have been written by the emperor himself. The (C) regulations were drafted by a group of officials from the Hanlin Academy and the Bureau of Remonstrance under the supervision of Li Shan-chang and the Minister of Rites, Jen Ang (MS, 136.3937; KCLCC, 39.20b). Taga Akigoro has convincingly argued that the regulations which were laid down by Sung Na are the (D) regulations (Taga, pp. 57-61).

⁴¹⁾ The text of the Statutes may be found in NYC, 9.2b-13a; *Ta-Ming Hui-tien* (Taipei: Tung-nan shu-pao she, 1963 reprint of the Wan-li edition; hereafter TMHT), 220.1b-10b; HMCS, volume 1, pp. 491-498; and HMTHC, 3.16a-27a. The short preface to the Statutes, which I have translated, is found in NYC, 9.2a-b.

⁴²⁾ The regulations were distributed to the students of the National University on Hung-wu 15.5.22 (SL, 145.4a).

⁴³⁾ According to KCLCC, 39.20a, Liu received the order in Hung-wu 15.11.

⁴⁴⁾ These regulations were drafted by a team of officials lead by Li Shan-chang and Jen Ang. Sung Na's name is not mentioned in this connection (MS, 136.3953 and KCLCC, 39.20b).

⁴⁵⁾ According to both TMHT and HMCS, the (D) regulations were laid down in Hung-wu 20 (1387), rather than Hung-wu 30 (1397) as NYC has it. The earlier date is supported by SL which states that on Hung-wu 30.7.20 these regulations were repromulgated (*shen-ming*) and *again* distributed to the students of the National University (SL, 254.2b-3b). It is also supported by HNYC, 13.6b. Both Igarashi and Taga have followed the Hung-wu 20 dating. The HMTHC follows the NYC (HMTHC, 3.23a).

⁴⁶⁾ According to NYC these regulations were repromulgated on Yung-lo 3.8.6 (1405).

⁴⁷⁾ Head of the National University was the Chancellor (*chi-chiu*), rank 4b. He was assisted by a Director of Studies (*ssu-yeh*), rank 6a. These were known as the "head officials" (*cheng-kuan*). The "subordinate officials" (*shu-kuan*) were: one Proctor (*chien-ch'eng*), rank 8a; five Erudites (*po-shih*), rank 8b; fifteen Lecturers (*chu-*

chiao), rank 8b; ten Preceptors (*hsüeh-cheng*), rank 9a; seven Teaching Assistants (*hsüeh-lu*), rank 9b; one Registrar (*tien-pu*), rank 8b; one Archivist (*tien-chi*), rank 9b; and one Quartermaster (*chang-chuan*).

⁴⁸) The University consisted of six departments or "halls" (*t'ang*) which were lined up behind an administrative building, the I-lun Hall. Together these seven buildings made up the core of the University compound. Each building had fifteen rooms, each room measuring about 15×30 feet and some twenty feet in height. In other words, a *t'ang* was a fairly large building, more than 225 feet long, 30 feet wide, and at least 20 feet high (NYC, 7.32a–33a). For a more detailed description of the greeting ceremony: HMTHC, 7.1b–4a.

⁴⁹) For the thirtieth day I have followed TMHT (220.3b). NYC leaves a blank for this day.

⁵⁰) Repromulgated on Hung-wu 35.11.21 (NYC, 9.7b), i.e. late in 1402, a few months after Ch'eng-tsu ascended the throne.

⁵¹) The Ming Penal Code has a special article entitled *Kan-ming fan-i*, "contrary to ethics and justice", which deals with the crime of bringing accusations against one's parents, grandparents, husband, and other close relatives of superior status. The punishment was 100 blows of the heavy bamboo and penal servitude for three years. False accusations were punished with strangulation (HMCS, volume II, p. 145).

⁵²) The six departments were divided into 32 classes or "sections" (*pan*). The 32 teaching officials, it seems, each supervised one section (NYC, 7.33a).

⁵³) During the Sung, a *chai* consisted of thirty students. Chao T'ieh-han, "Sung-tai te t'ai-hsüeh," in Wang Shu-min, et al., *Sung-shih yen-chiu chi*, volume I (Taipei: Chung-hua ts'ung-shu wei-yüan hui, 1958), p. 318. During the Yüan, the term *chai* normally referred to a class or a classroom in a local school. See Makino Shūji, "Gendai byōgaku shoin no kibo ni tsuite," *Ehime Daigaku Hōbungakubu ronshū bungakuka hen*, 12 (1979), pp. 34–39. Sometimes, however, it referred to a larger unit. The three studios (*san-chai*) of the Yüan correspond to the three houses (*san-she*) of the Sung (YS, 81.2029; and Lam, Yüan-chu, *The first chapter of the "Treatise on Selection and Recommendation" for the Civil Service in the Yüan Shih* (Harvard University: Ph.D. dissertation, 1978), p. 117. In the Ming, *chai* and *pan* seem to have been used interchangeably to refer to the same unit, i.e. a class.

⁵⁴) Foreign students and sons of officials who entered the University because of their father's rank were known as *kuan-sheng*. Students recruited through the local schools were known as *min-sheng*. For a discussion of the different categories of students see Lin Li-yüeh, pp. 11–20.

⁵⁵) HMCS supplies the name of the former Registrar: Chang Li (HMCS, volume I, p. 494).

⁵⁶) *Fa-ssu*, according to Morohashi (17290.140) is another name for *Ta-li ssu*, the Grand Court of Revision.

⁵⁷) See note 44 above. There is no date for the repromulgation.

⁵⁸) HMCS has 20 days, which is a printing error.

⁵⁹) For the term *shih-ku*, "legitimate cause," as applied to officials (demotion, promotion, capital punishment in the family, old age, illness, or death) see TMHT, 13.23b–29a.

⁶⁰) See note 45 above. Repromulgated on Hung-wu 30.7.20 (1397) and again on Hung-wu 35.11.26 (1402). NYC, 9.13a.

⁶¹) On the *lan-shan* see NYC, 1.44b. Since 1369 students at the National University were annually given summer and winter clothes (NYC, 1.8a). On the clothing standards prescribed by the court see MS, 67.1649.

⁶²) All famous calligraphy masters of the Six Dynasties and the T'ang. HMCS erroneously has *Han* instead of *Yen*.

⁶³) There were a total of 32 *t'ang-chang*, probably one student from each class (HMTHC, 7.11a).

⁶⁴) HMCS and HMTHC have "two" passes, while NYC and TMHT have "one". *Ch'u-kung ju-ching* passes were also used during the civil service examinations when the candidates had to go to the lavatory (Morohashi, 1811.67).

⁶⁵) *Hua-yu*, "5 P.M.–7 P.M. check in," seems to refer to the checking in at the University gate. *Tien-cha* or *yen-cha*, "roll call", was conducted several times a day inside the University. Cf. regulations D 6, D 11, D 14, D 17, and D 19.

⁶⁶) The exact meaning of *fang-p'ai* is not clear. The *p'ai* possibly refers to a kind of identification badge worn on the gown. See HMTHC, 7.4a.

⁶⁷) The "inner dormitories" (*nei hao-fang*) lay behind the Confucian Temple (*Wen-miao*) and immediately to

the east of the "Seven Halls" (*ch'i-t'ang*), i.e. the six departments and the administrative building (*I-lun t'ang*). The "outer dormitories" (*wai hao-fang*) were located outside and on both sides of the main gate to the University, the *Chi-hsien men*, "Gate of Gathering Worthies," in front of the I-lun Hall (NYC, 7.4a-b, 7.12a-b, 8.29b, and 8.31b-32b).

“) In the early Ming, students of the National University were a group especially favored and trusted by the emperor. T'ai-tsu often recruited students from the University and sent them out on special assignments of important nature, such as making land surveys for the compilation of the *yü-lin t'u-ts'e*, "fish scale land registers," or to supervise works for irrigation and flood control, or to report on local conditions (SL, 106.5a, 180.3b, 206.4a, 234.1a).

“) Students who wished to return home for any reason had to submit a special application. Appropriate time limits were set for each individual student depending on the distance to his home, and a travel document (*yin*) was issued which granted the student free passage home and back. Such passports were also given to students who had completed their training at the University and returned home to wait for appointment to internship or to regular office. The *Li-pu chih-chang*, compiled by the Ministry of Personnel during the Wan-li reign, contains detailed regulations on the issuing of travel documents to National University students and on the procedure for recalling students due for official appointment. See *Li-pu chih-chang* (Wan-li edition in 10 *chüan* preserved in the Harvard-Yenching Library), 3.56b-59b.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

chai 齋
 chai-chang 齋長
 ch'ai-shih 差使
 chang 章
 Chang Chih-tung 張之洞
 chang-chuan 掌饌
 Chang Hsien-tsung 張顯宗
 chang-i 掌儀
 Chang Li 張禮
 chao 詔
 cheng-hsin 正心
 Cheng-i t'ang 正義堂
 cheng-kuan 正官
 Ch'eng-hsin t'ang 誠心堂
 Ch'eng Tuan-li 程端禮
 chi-ch'ien ts'e 集愆冊
 Chi-ch'ing 集慶
 chi-chiu 祭酒
 chi-fen fa 積分法
 Chi-hsien men 集賢門
 ch'i-t'ang 七堂
 Chiang-sung pu 講誦簿
 chien-ch'eng 監丞
 chien-chuan sheng-yüan 監饌生員
 chien-kuei 監規
 chien-sheng 監生
 Chien-yüan 諫院

chih-jih sheng-yüan 直日生員
 chih-shu 制書
 chih-t'ing tsao-li 直廳皂隸
 Chih-yung 智永
 chin-shih 進士
 Chin Wen-cheng 金文徵
 ch'ing-kuei 清規
 chou-hsüeh 州學
 chu-chiao 助教
 Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋
 ch'u-kung ju-ching p'ai 出恭入敬牌
 ch'u-shen 出身
 Ch'ung-chih t'ang 崇志堂
 fa-ch'ien an-chih 發遣安遣
 Fa-ssu 法司
 fang-p'ai 放牌
 fei-pang 誹謗
 fu-chiang 復議
 fu-hsüeh 府學
 Han K'o-chung 韓克忠
 Han-lin yüan 翰林院
 hsiao-jen 小人
 hsien-hsüeh 縣學
 hsiu-chuan 修撰
 Hsiu-tao t'ang 修道堂
 HSU NAN-YUNG CHIH 續南雍志
 hsu-wen 虛文

hsüeh-cheng 學正
 hsüeh-kuei 學規
 hsüeh-lu 學錄
 Hu Yüan 胡瑗
 hua-yu 畫酉
 Huang Ju-ping 黃儒炳
 HUANG-MING CHIH-SHU 皇明制書
 HUANG-MING T'AI-HSUEH CHIH 皇明太學志
 Huang Tso 黃佐
 hui-chiang 會講
 hung-teng 紅綫
 I-lun t'ang 彝倫堂
 Jen Ang 任昂
 k'ai 楷
 kan-ming fan-i 干名犯義
 k'an-ho wen-pu 勘合文簿
 kao 誥
 kuan-sheng 官生
 Kuang-yeh t'ang 廣業堂
 kung-sheng 貢生
 KUO-CH'AO LIEH-CH'ING CHI 國朝列鄉紀
 Kuo P'an 郭磐
 Kuo-tzu chien 國子監
 Kuo-tzu hsüeh 國子學
 lan-shan 欄衫
 LI-PU CHIH-CHANG 吏部職掌

Li Shan-chang 李善長
 li-shih 歷事
 ling-ch'ih 凌遲
 Liu Chung-chih 劉仲質
 Liu I 劉彝
 liu-i 六義
 Liu Kung-ch'üan 柳公權
 lu-hsüeh 路學
 lun 論
 min-sheng 民生
 ming-t'i shih-yung 明體適用
 ming-t'i ta-yung 明體達用
 Nan-ching Kuo-tzu chien 南京國子監
 Nan-yung 南雍
 NAN-YUNG CHIH 南雍志
 nei hao-fang 內號房
 Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢
 Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei 百文清規
 p'ai 牌
 pan 班
 pan-ch'ü 搬取
 pan-shih 辦事
 p'an-yü 判語
 pei-shu 背書
 piao 表
 po-shih 博士

pu-cheng shih 布政使
 san-chai 三齋
 san-she 三舍
 san-she fa 三舍法
 shang-feng pai-su 傷風敗俗
 shen-ming 申明
 sheng-chai teng-ti 陞齋等第
 Sheng-ch'ien t'ing 繩愆廳
 sheng-ch'in 省親
 sheng-t'ang fa 升堂法
 shih-hsüeh 實學
 shih-ku 事故
 shi-ts'ai li 釋菜禮
 shu chi-chiu shih 署祭酒事
 shu-kuan 屬官
 shu ssu-yeh shih 署司業事
 Shuai-hsing t'ang 率性堂
 Ssu-men hsüeh 四門學
 ssu-yeh 司業
 sui-kung 歲貢
 Sung Na 宋納
 TA-KAO 大誥
 Ta-li ssu 大理寺
 TA-MING HUI-TIEN 大明會典
 TA-MING LING 大明令
 TA-MING LU 大明律
 t'ai-ch'ang ssu-ch'eng 太常寺丞

T'ai-hsüeh 太學
 t'ang 堂
 t'ang-chang 堂長
 tien-cha 點閣
 tien-chi 典籍
 tien-pu 典簿
 ts'e 策
 tso-t'ang ch'üan 坐堂園
 Tung-yüan 東苑
 wai hao-fang 外號房
 Wang An-shih 王安石
 Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之
 Wang Hsien-chih 王獻之
 Wen-miao 文廟
 wu-ching po-shih 五經博士
 Wu-teng hsüeh-kuei 五等學規
 Wu-wang 吳王
 Wu Yung 吳頤
 yen-cha 驗閣
 Yen Chen-ch'ing 顏真卿
 yin 引
 yu shang feng-hua 有傷風化
 yü-lin t'u-ts'e 魚鱗圖冊
 YU Shih-nan 虞世南
 yüan-kun 圓棍

BLUE AND WHITE IMITATION POTTERY FROM THE GHAIBI AND RELATED WORK- SHOPS IN MEDIAEVAL CAIRO

by

BENGT PETERSON

During the 15th century, the production of local pottery in the Near East was greatly influenced by Chinese blue and white porcelain. One of the main trends in the manufactures of various workshops in mediaeval Cairo, including Fustat, is the free imitation of motifs of Chinese design on small pottery bowls. They are painted in blue on white slip and covered by a transparent glaze. It is very difficult to investigate the shape of the bowls, as almost none of them has survived intact. The painted motifs, however, are legion on the sherds picked up on the dusty Fustat hillocks.

A leading workshop during the period was that of a man called Ghaibi. We know its output fairly well, as the bowls were always signed on the base. Signed ceramic wares were not uncommon in Cairo; many signatures are to be found on such wares even during the Fatimid dynasty. In the 15th century, a great many of the blue and white bowls were signed by the manufacturer. Thus we know of many contemporaries of Ghaibi.

There has been a bewildering number of identifications of Ghaibi. Early scholars, like D. Fouquet,¹⁾ A. Abel,²⁾ Aly Bey Bahgat and F. Massoul,³⁾ have tried to identify him as a stranger – the meaning of the name Ghaibi – coming from Persia or Syria, as many sherds have the signature Ghaibi al-Tawrizi or Ghaibi al-Shami, while the signatures al-Tawrizi and al-Shami also occur alone.⁴⁾ However, we cannot reach a decision on this identification at the time being; we have to regard Ghaibi and his workshop, as well as the related ateliers, as an Egyptian phenomenon with that international tinge which was a feature of the time.

The background of their output is the Chinese export porcelain. The abundant presence of various Chinese wares in Egypt has long been well known; there are the many imported vessels of the T'ang period and the highly popular Lung-ch'üan celadon ware, only to mention two characteristic features of the imports.

The blue and white porcelain started to occur in Egypt about 1375³⁾ and continued to be imported for several centuries; there are many items from Fustat of as late a date as the 18th century, when also Japanese porcelain occurred.⁴⁾

The Egyptian blue and white imitation ware of the 15th century – made of sandy, greyish-white clay – bears simplified decorative elements painted rather carelessly on the white slip. Most often, a single motif is placed at the centre of the interior base. It may be a fish, a phoenix or a flower rosette. This is the main feature of the Ghaibi atelier, including the products signed al-Tawrizi and al-Shami, and also of the related workshops, of which those of al-Sha'ir, Darwish and al-Ghazal are represented in this paper, together with some anonymous items.

The exact date of these workshops is difficult to determine. It is agreed that they have to be placed somewhere between c. 1400 and 1500. A. Lane has given some hints as to the influence of the Hsüan-te ware on the Egyptian designs and wishes to place Ghaibi after the period of this Ming reign, i.e. 1426–1435.⁷⁾ But some of the workshops may be older. Many of the motifs used are already to be found in the Yüan blue and white; in the following catalogue, there are especially some floral patterns which are strongly reminiscent of this early type.⁸⁾ Another difficulty is to know how long the workshops existed, for one generation or for several. There is fairly clear evidence that the Ghaibi workshop was continued by a son of his.⁹⁾

The starting-point in establishing a chronology and in getting a clear view of the Fustat production of the imitation blue and white ware must be the collection and publication of all the specimens from the different master workshops. This work must also include the study of internal trends in the workshops, so many different hands being at work in each of them. This is evident if we just look, for example, at the series of sherds from the Ghaibi atelier in the following catalogue, where one can see how different hands have been at work with designs and signatures.

This paper presents specimens of the Egyptian imitation blue and white ware in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, (Medelhavsmuseet), in Stockholm, as well as those in a private collection in Stockholm.¹⁰⁾ The intention is to stimulate interest in the study of this ware developed under the strong influence of Chinese porcelain.

NOTES

The abbreviated titles referred to in the catalogue can easily be found, cited in full, in the following notes to the introduction.

¹⁾ D. Fouquet, Contribution à l'étude de la céramique orientale, Mémoires présentés à l'Institut Égyptien publiés en l'honneur de la naissance de S. A. Mohammed Abd-ul-Munaïm, Tome IV, Le Caire 1900, 46 ff.

²⁾ A. Abel, Gaïbi et les grands faïenciers égyptiens d'époque mamlouke avec un catalogue de leurs oeuvres conservées au Musée d'art arabe du Caire, Le Caire 1930. Cf. M. Jungfleisch, À propos une publication du Musée de l'art arabe, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte XIV, 1932, 257 ff.

³⁾ Aly Bey Bahgat & F. Massoul, La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte, Le Caire 1930, 75 f.

⁴⁾ E. Kühnel, Islamische Kleinkunst, Berlin 1925, 110 f.; R. L. Hobson, A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East, British Museum, London 1932, 60; A. Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, 2nd ed., London 1971, 19; J. Sauvaget, Introduction à l'étude de la céramique musulmane, Revue des Études Islamiques, 1965, Paris 1966, 43.

⁵⁾ G. T. Scanlon, The Fustat Mounds. A Shard Count 1968, Archaeology 24, 1971, 220 ff., esp. 231 f.; idem, Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation, in Islam and the Trade of Asia, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1970, 81 ff.

⁶⁾ G. T. Scanlon, op.cit., in Islam and the Trade of Asia, 95, note 24.

⁷⁾ A. Lane, op.cit., 31.

⁸⁾ Nrs XIII, XX, XXII.

⁹⁾ A mosque lamp in the Metropolitan Museum of Art has an inscription telling that it is the work of the son of Ghaïbi: M. S. Dimand, A Handbook of Muhammadan Art, 2nd ed., New York 1947, 218; A. Lane, op.cit., pl. 17 A. Cf. also J. M. Rogers in J. Sourdel-Thomine – B. Spuler, Die Kunst des Islam, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Berlin 1973, 337 f. and J. Sauvaget, op.cit., 46.

¹⁰⁾ All sherds belonging to the Medelhavsmuseet with the prefix MM before the inventory nr were purchased in Cairo at about 1930 by Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson. They were presented to the Museum by Mr Nils Rettig. The sherds prefixed MME were acquired from various private collections. Those of the private collection in Stockholm were purchased in Cairo in 1971 and 1974.

CATALOGUE

GHAIBI

I. Fragment of bowl, MM 14824. (Plate 1).

Blue on white slip. Crackled glaze. 8.1×10.5 cm, h. 3.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.9 cm.

Interior: Central, single fish with curved tail, floral scrolls.

Exterior: Body decorated by vertical, dotted lines. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines between which are painted oblique, slightly undulating lines. Lower part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base slightly convex and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 15).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XVI, 86.



II. Fragment of bowl, MM 14828. (Plate 1).

Blue on white slip. 5.3×5.5 cm, h. 2.2 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.9 cm.

Interior: Central part of base convex. Central, single fish with curved tail, small floral scroll.

Exterior: Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Base concave and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 4).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VI, 1 A, VII, 59 (by *Hormuz*); Abel, Gaibi, pl. XVI, 85.

One unpublished parallel in the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, nr. 6694.



III. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 1).

Blue on white slip. Crackled glaze. 5×6.8 cm, h. 2.8 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.6 cm.

Interior: Central, single fish with curved tail, small floral scroll.

Exterior: Body decoration consisting of irregular strokes of various thickness. No distinct pattern discernible. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Lower part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base slightly concave and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 1).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VI, 1 A,

VII, 59 (by *Hormuz*); Abel, Gaibi, pl. XVI, 85;

Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, nr 6694.



IV. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 1).

Blue on white slip. 6.5×6.7 cm, h. 2.5 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.7 cm.

Interior: Central part of base convex. Central, single fish with curved tail, small floral scroll.

Exterior: Small remains of indistinctive stroke pattern on the body. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Lower part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base concave and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 2 c, but without the three dots).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VI, 1 A,

VII, 59 (by *Hormuz*); Abel, Gaibi, pl. XVI, 85.

Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, nr 6694.



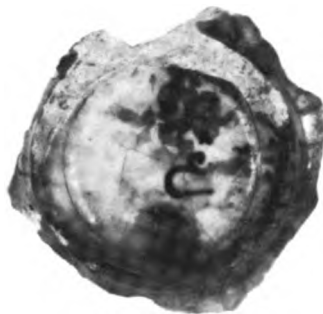
V. Fragment of bowl, MM 14781. (Plate 2).

Blue on white slip. Glaze discoloured and crackled. Interior surface damaged by spur marks. 7.8 × 8.4 cm, h. 2.3 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.9 cm.

Interior: The central motif is a long-billed phoenix. In the bill the bird holds a fish with curved tail.

Exterior: Lower part of the body without decoration. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 34).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XIII, 61, XV, 75; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XL, 3 bis (by *Khadim al-Fukara*); Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pl. 16 B, bottom right; Fouquet, Contribution, Pl. VI, 18 A. Also items without the fish: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XIII–XVI; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, additional plate litt. L, 89 (by *Hormuz*).



VI. Fragment of bowl, MM 14829. (Plate 2).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. 4.6 × 5.4 cm, h. 2.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.5 cm.

Interior: Central, single flower rosette combined with stroke pattern.

Exterior: The body decoration consists of densely painted, vertical, dotted lines. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Base slightly concave and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 21).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. V, 25, VI, 27 & 29, similar but not exact parallels; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLII, 2, XLIII, 5, (not by *Ghaibi*).



VII. Fragment of bowl, MM 14825. (Plate 2).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. Fluted body. 5.1 × 5.8 cm, h. 3.5 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.7 cm.

Interior: Central, single flower rosette.

Exterior: Body covered by straight, dense, vertical lines. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base slightly concave with a convex centre and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, no exact parallel to this shaky hand).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. VI, 27 & 29, similar but not exact parallels; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XLII, 2. The fluted body is uncommon, a good parallel is Fouquet, Contribution, pl. IX, 87 A (not by *Ghaibi*).



VIII. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 2).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. Diam. 6.8 cm, h. 2.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.6 cm.

Interior: Central, single flower rosette.

Exterior: The body seems to have had dense, vertical lines. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines between which are painted oblique, undulating lines. Lowest part of foot-rim unglazed. Base concave with a convex centre and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi* (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 15).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. VI, 27; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XLIII, 5 (not by *Ghaibi*).



IX. Fragment of bowl, MM 18462. (Plate 3).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled and damaged by one spur mark. 7 × 8.5 cm, h. 2.4 cm, diam. of foot-rim 8.0 cm.

Interior: Floral sprays with leaves and pair of fruits.

Exterior: Vertical lines on the body. Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 2 & 4).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VI, 14, VII, 36 (by 'Ajami); Abel, Gaibi, pl. IX, 39–41, X, 49–50; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XXXIX, 4 (by *al-Tawrizi*), colour pl. 4, c (by *Ghazal*); Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, pl. 16 B, top right.



X. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 3).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled and damaged by one spur mark. 7 × 7.3 cm, h. 1.6 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.3 cm.

Interior: Spray with leaves and a pair of pomegranates.

Exterior: Broad, horizontal line around the foot-rim. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 5).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VII, 36 (by 'Ajami); Abel, Gaibi, pl. IX–X, passim; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XXXIX, 3; cf. also Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, p. 31.



XI. Fragment of bowl, MME 1974:60. (Plate 3).

Blue on white slip. Crackled glaze. 6 × 6.5 cm, h. 2 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.7 cm.

Interior: Central fruit surrounded by leaves and two concentric, parallel lines.

Exterior: One horizontal line around the foot-rim. Base concave and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, this being an abbreviated writing of his name, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 30).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XI, 55.



XII. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 3).

Blue and green on white slip. Glaze somewhat crackled and damaged by two spur marks. Diam. 10.1 cm, h. 2.5 cm, diam. of foot-rim 8.6 cm.

Interior: Bunch of blue leaves raising from green leaf-cluster, the latter ornated by scrolls. This is a part of a lotus design.

Exterior: Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: *Ghaibi*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 1 ff., but no exact parallel to this simplified rendering).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XI, 53; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XLV, 1 & 3.

These parallels only vague but similar.



AL-TAWRIZI

XIII. Fragment of bowl, MM 14830. (Plate 4).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. 6.3 × 5 cm, h. 1.6 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.9 cm.

Interior: Central flower and scrolls with leaves.

Exterior: Around the foot-rim two parallel, horizontal lines. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: 'aml (work of) al-Tawrizi, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. II, 74 A).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. VIII, 38, IX, 42 & 45, XII, 56, XXIII, 109; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLIII, 1 & 4 (not by *Ghaibi*).



AL-SHAMI

XIV. Fragment of bowl, MM 14817. (Plate 4).

Blue on white slip. 6.3 × 6.6 cm, h. 1.4 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.8 cm.

Interior: Central, single plantain spray surrounded by "cloud"-pattern.

Exterior: Two parallel, horizontal lines around the foot-rim. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: 'aml (work of) al-Shami, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. II, 62 ff.).

Parallels: Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pl. 13 B (tile of Damascus); E. J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery ... in the Keir Collection*, London 1976, 293 (tiles). The motif is of Egyptian origin as has been demonstrated by J. Carswell, *Some Fifteenth-century Hexagonal Tiles from the Near East*, *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* 3, London 1972, 59 ff. and *idem*, *Six Tiles, Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1972, 99 ff.



AL-SHA'IR

XV. Fragment of bowl, MM 14852. (Plate 4).

Blue and black on white slip. Glaze somewhat crackled. 5.9 × 6.7 cm, h. 2.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.0 cm.

Interior: Eight-petalled flower left free in black, round, central field. The field is surrounded by a concentric, blue line from which start four blue, broad, criss-cross patterns.

Exterior: Two parallel, horizontal lines around the foot-rim. The body seems to have been decorated by blue, vertical lines. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base flat and glazed. Signature in black: 'aml (work of) al-Sha'ir, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. II, 69).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VIII, 71 A.



XVI. Fragment of bowl, MME 1974:62. (Plate 4).

Blue and black on white slip. Crackled glaze, discoloured and slightly iridescent. Three holes drilled through the body. 6.7 × 7.8 cm, h. 2.9 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.9 cm.

Interior: Central, ten-petalled flower in blue.

Exterior: Vertical blue and black lines on the body. Two parallel, horizontal lines on the upper part of the foot-rim. Parts of the foot-rim unglazed. Base convex and glazed. Signature in black: 'aml (work of) al-Sha'ir, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. II, 69 ff.).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. VI, 29; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XLII, 2 (by al-Razzaz).



DARWISH

XVII. Fragment of bowl, private collection. (Plate 5).

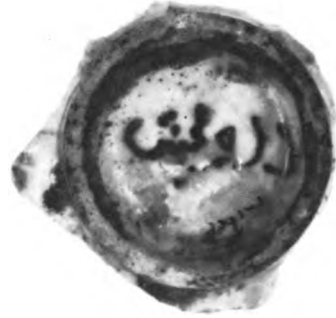
Blue on white slip. Crackled glaze. 5.7×6.8 cm, h. 2.3 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.3 cm.

Interior: Central, single phoenix.

Exterior: Two parallel, horizontal lines around the foot-rim. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed.

Hole drilled through the foot-rim. Base flat and glazed. Signature in blue: *Darwish*.

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. VI, 18 A (by *Ghaibi*); Abel, Gaibi, pl. XIV–XV, passim; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLIII, 3, pl. litt. L, 89 (by *al-Tawrizi*).



AL-GHAZAL

XVIII. Fragment of bowl, MM 14839. (Plate 5).

Blue and black on white slip. Glaze crackled. 4.4×4.7 cm, h. 2.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.3 cm.

Interior: Central, single, floral spray painted in black outlines and dots, surrounded by blue field and a black, concentric line from which starts a linear, decorative pattern of black lines and blue fields.

Exterior: The body has had a pattern of black, vertical lines and blue, vertical fields. Its lower end is a black line around the upper part of the foot-rim. Lowest part of the foot-rim unglazed. Base concave and glazed. Signature in black: *al-Ghazal*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 51 A).

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. IX, 81 (by *Barrani*); Abel, Gaibi, pl. I, 1, III, 9–10, IV, 20; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLI, 1 & 2 (the latter signed by *al-Istaz*); Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pl. 16 B, top left (by *al-Ustadh*).



XIX. Fragment of bowl, MME 1974:61. (Plate 5).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. 4.3 × 4.8 cm, h. 2 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.0 cm.

Interior: Single, central flower rosette. Some single strokes at the edges of the fragment indicate further decoration.

Exterior: Two parallel, horizontal lines around the foot-rim, the upper one continuing upwards in the body decoration, the character of which is not possible to determine. Base flat and glazed.

Blurred signature in blue: *Ghazal*, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. I, 44 A ff.).

Parallels: One unpublished parallel in the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, nr. 6686. Cf. also Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLII, 2 (by *al-Razzaz*).



POTTER'S MARK ٢

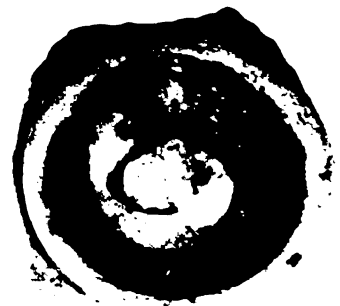
XX. Fragment of bowl, MME 1974:59. (Plate 5).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled. 7.4 × 8.6 cm, h. 1.9 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.9 cm.

Interior: Central lotus motif including a pair of large flowers in shaded painting.

Exterior: Lower part of body and foot-rim unglazed. Slightly convex base with dot of glaze under which is painted in blue a potter's mark, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. V, 125 & 128).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XXIV, 112; Bahgat & Massoul, *Céramique musulmane*, pl. XLV, 1 & 3; Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pl. 13 A; O. C. Raphael, *Fragments from Fustat*, TOCS 1923–24, 1924, pl. 8 E.



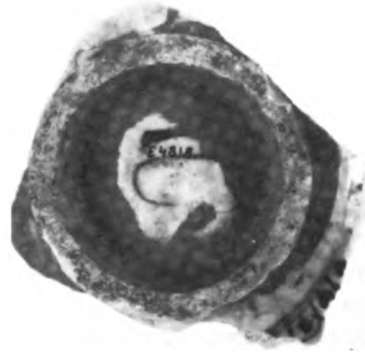
XXI. Fragment of large bowl, MM 14818. (Plate 6).

Blue on white slip. Glaze crackled and damaged by three spur marks. 10.8 × 13.1 cm, h. 3.8 cm, diam. of foot-rim 10 cm.

Interior: Central spray with flower and leaves in blue outlines and with blue filling-in. This central motif is surrounded by two concentric lines. The interior body decoration is indicated by the fragmentary outlined spray beginning at the outer concentric line.

Exterior: Only a small part of the body pattern is preserved. It consists of blue lines and dots. It is limited downwards by a broad, horizontal line. The foot-rim is unglazed. However, a decoration with glaze was intended. This is shown by the two parallel, horizontal lines around the foot-rim which are now only well visible at a point where the body glaze has dripped down. A dot of glaze only at the flat base under which is painted a mark in blue strongly similar to the potter's mark  , (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. V, 125 & 128).

Parallels: For Chinese prototypes cf. Sherman Lee & Wai-Kam Ho, Chinese Art under the Mongols, Cleveland 1968, nr. 153, 175, 176.



POTTER'S MARK CONSISTING OF TWO OBLONG DOTS

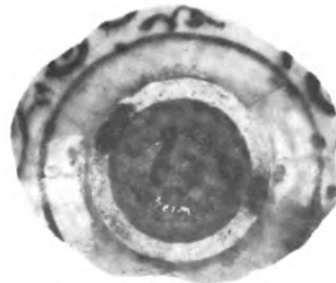
XXII. Fragment of bowl, MME 1973:23. (Plate 6).

Blue on white slip. Slight cracks in the glaze. 9.1 × 10.2 cm, h. 2.6 cm, diam. of foot-rim 5.3 cm.

Interior: Central lotus motif including a pair of large flowers and a pair of buds in shaded painting. Above is a group of waterweeds.

Exterior: Probably the body decoration consisted of floral scrolls. Its lower limit is a horizontal line above the foot-rim. The latter is partly left unglazed. A dot of glaze on the convex base displays a blue mark consisting of two oblong dots, (cf. Fouquet, Contribution, pl. V, 145).

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. XXIV, 112; Bahgat & Massoul, Céramique musulmane, pl. XLV, 1 & 3; Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, pl. 13 A; O. C. Raphael, Fragments from Fustat, TOCS 1923–24, pl. 8 E.



UNSIGNED ITEMS

XXIII. Fragment of bowl, MME 1969:119. (Plate 7).

Blue on white slip. Worn and discoloured glaze damaged by three spur marks. 5.8 × 6.6 cm, h. 1.8 cm, diam. of foot-rim 4.8 cm.

Interior: Swimming duck on waterlines. The irregular dots around the duck suggest vegetal surroundings.

Exterior: Body glaze ends above the foot-rim. A dot of glaze in the centre of the flat base. No discernible mark.

Parallels: Fouquet, Contribution, pl. X, 98; E. J. Grube, Islamic Pottery ... in the Keir Collection, London 1976, nr 248 on p. 291.

XXIV. Fragment of bowl, MM 14821. (Plate 7).

Bluish black on white slip. Greenish glaze cracked. 7.2 × 7.3 cm, h. 2.1 cm, diam. of foot-rim 6.8 cm.

Interior: Central part slightly convex. A stylized seven-petalled flower. A concentric line has delimited this central field.

Exterior: Foot-rim completely unglazed. A small dot of glaze on the concave base seems unintentional.

Parallels: Abel, Gaibi, pl. VI, similar but not exact parallels.

XXV. Fragment of large dish or bowl, MM 14820. (Plate 7).

Blue on originally white slip, now discoloured. Thick cracked glaze damaged by three spur marks. 9.6 × 10.6 cm, h. 2.3 cm, diam. of foot-rim 8.9 cm.

Interior: The central motif is a pair of fishes, accentuated by two fish-shaped dots.

Exterior: Foot-rim and flat base completely undecorated and unglazed.

Parallels: The motif is very common in Chinese celadon and occurs in Egyptian imitation celadon, (e.g. E. J. Grube, Islamic Pottery ... in the Keir Collection, London 1976, nr. 224 on p. 279), as well as in Mamluk pottery (ibidem, nr 235 on p. 285). Egyptian blue and white parallels may be hard to find.

PLATES

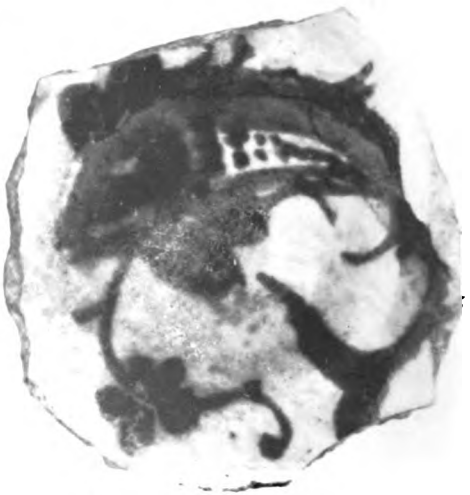
Plate 1



II



III



IV

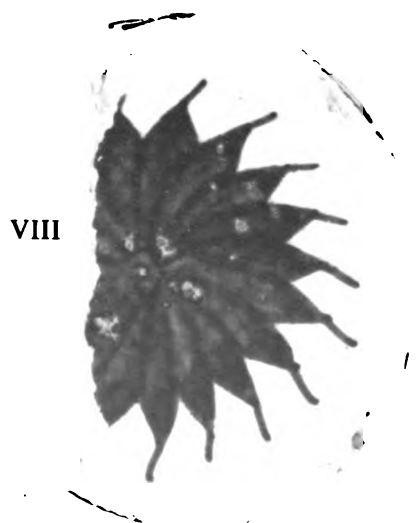
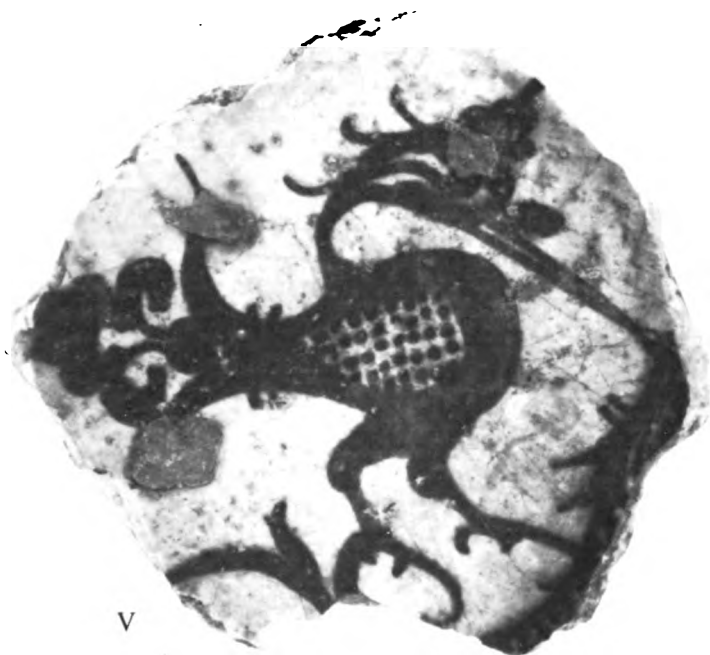
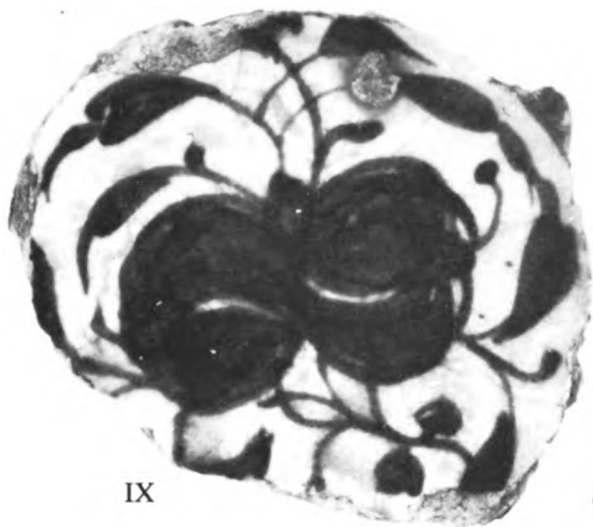


Plate 3



IX



X



XI



XII



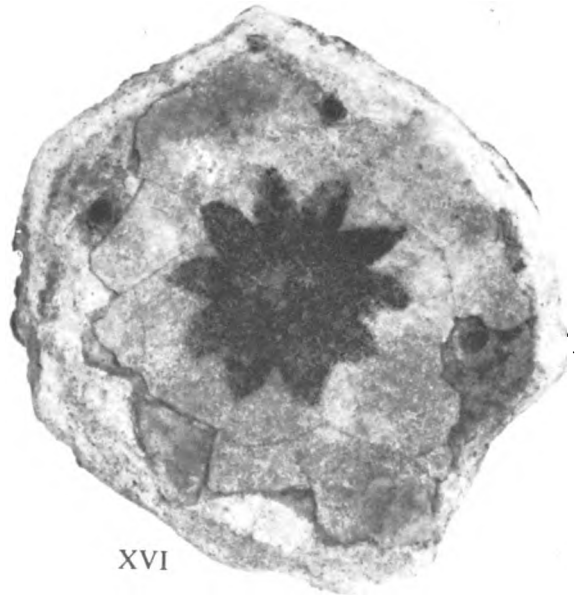
XIII



XIV



XV



XVI

Plate 5

XVII



XVIII



XIX

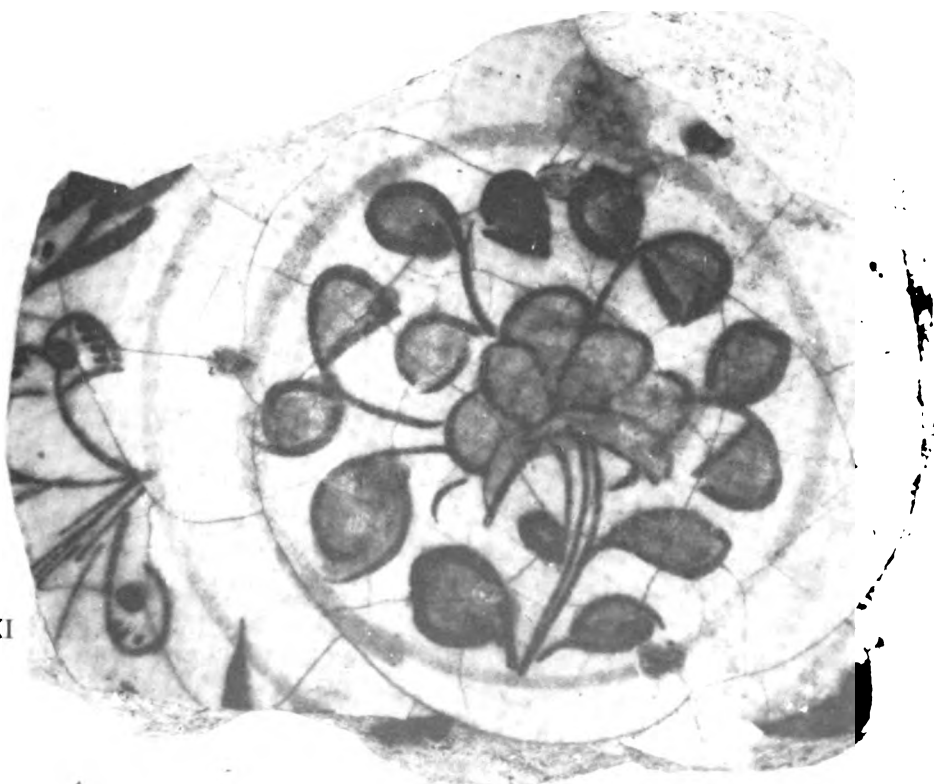


XX





XXII



XXI

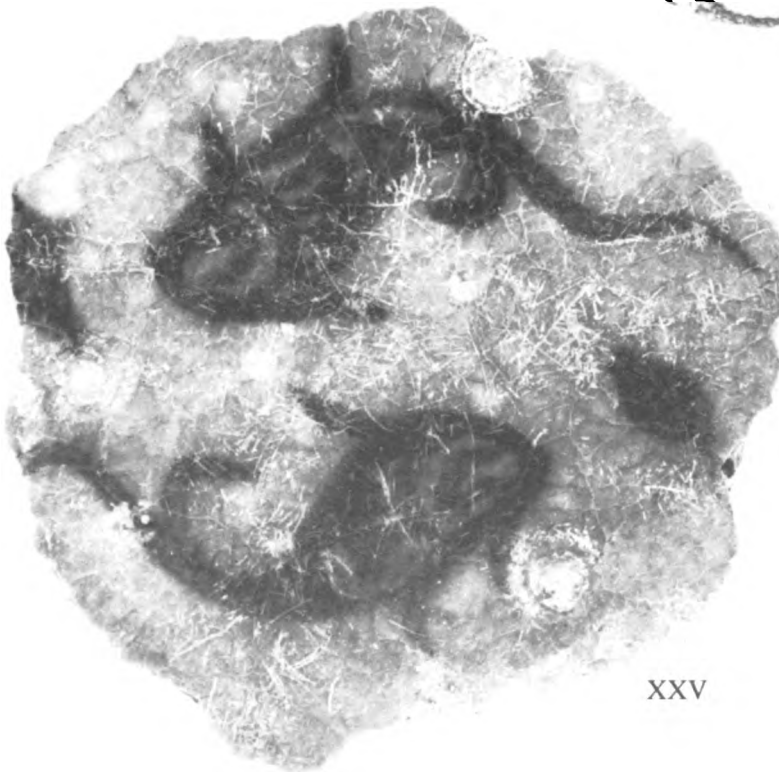
Plate 7



XXIII



XXIV



XXV

SOUTHERN JOURNEY

by
Simon B. Heilesen

The crowning success of the *Qing* dynasty artist *Wang Hui* (1) (1632–1717) was his appointment to the directorship of the atelier working on a set of paintings entitled *Nanxuntu* (2), Pictures of the Southern Journey. On completion of the project *Wang Hui* was rewarded by the Emperor. For that reason the name *Nanxuntu* figures prominently in the biographies of the painter, thus making it one of the best known *Qing* dynasty court paintings. The fame of the scrolls, however, has not been matched by art-historical attention, and of the famous paintings of the *Qing* period, the *Nanxuntu* is one of the least discussed and least illustrated.

Scroll number seven of the *Nanxuntu* set was brought out of obscurity in 1978 by a Danish collector, who discovered it in a curio shop on a vacation trip to Southern Europe. The painting was exhibited at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen in the spring of 1980.¹⁾ A generous grant from the *Ny Carlsberg Foundation* has made it possible to have the scroll photographed for further study and publication.

*

The *Nanxuntu* set of paintings was created in commemoration of the *Kangxi* (3) Emperor's journey to South China in the spring of 1689, the 28th year of his reign. No doubt it was intended as a—badly needed—document on the success of Manchu government. As such, from the historical point of view it is quite valuable. Roughly speaking, it is a piece of propaganda art that more or less consciously reflects the political conditions of the early *Qing* period while it records the great spectacle of the imperial travelling party moving through beautiful landscapes—an event of seemingly limited importance, but with much implied significance.

The *Kangxi* Emperor made six so-called Southern Tours to the central-eastern provinces.²⁾ The official reason for all of these journeys was the Emperor's wish to inspect in person river control and local conditions. In the course of his travels many such inspections did take place, and much space in the records of the journeys is devoted to problems of river conservation, that in the rich *Jiangnan* area was of fundamental importance to state revenue. But it is obvious that the enormous organizational apparatus required could only be justified for reasons of even greater weight, which, however, could not very well be stated openly.

It is significant that the first trip in 1684 took place only three years after the suppression of the *Wu Sangui* (4) rebellion that had seriously threatened the existence of the young *Qing* dynasty. Like all succeeding Southern Journeys it

took the Emperor to the rich central-eastern provinces, the corner-stone of the country's economy and one of the centres of resistance to the Manchu overthrow of the native *Ming* dynasty. The *Wu Sangui* rebellion had clearly shown that Manchu rule was still not universally accepted. It was now up to the Emperor to overcome the hard feelings in the part of the country where the population had suffered terribly during the Manchu conquest, and to make sure of the loyalty of the officials in China's most important provinces.

The Emperor worked very hard to achieve his goal by appealing to every level of society. He met with many of his officials, who if stationed within a radius of a hundred *li* (50 km) of the route were all ordered to pay homage to him. Personnel in key positions were given special attention and were granted tokens of imperial favour. Some promotions were made, and all officials were exhorted to govern well. Thus the Emperor sized up his local administration and tried to strengthen the ties of loyalty. In addition to the officials, the local gentry and scholars were ordered to greet the monarch—thus publicly demonstrating their loyalty to the *Qing* dynasty. The Emperor appealed to the common people by remitting taxes, cancelling debts, showing his interest in local conditions, and building up an image of a ruler concerned with the well-being of his subjects.

The sensitive problem of foreign rule was also tackled on the tours by the Manchu Emperor. On the first trip he made the gesture of restoring sacrifices to the founder of the *Ming* dynasty and himself performed the first one. Later he ordered *Ming Taizu's* (5) grave to be kept in good repair. As a further concession he missed no opportunity for demonstrating his respect for and deep knowledge of Chinese culture. He created the image of a true scholar-emperor thoroughly versed in the classics and easily capable of demonstrating his refinement by composing poetry and writing beautiful calligraphy.

A possible secondary political aim of the journeys may have been the Emperor's desire to keep an eye on the activities of the foreign missionaries, who were quite numerous in the South.³) Eventually foreigners were officially registered, but for a long time the *Kangxi* Emperor kept them under personal, and unofficial, supervision by meeting with the missionaries along the travel routes and subjecting them to amiable but keen interrogation. Like all other religious groups Christians were seen as potential troublemakers, and the motivation for the *Kangxi* Emperor's attention to the foreigners may certainly have been different from that of benevolence and open-mindedness that the Jesuits praised in their reports to Europe.

There may have been several other political reasons for undertaking the Southern Journeys, but it should not be overlooked that in the midst of all the minutely calculating work the Emperor was genuinely pleased to visit the South. He appreciated the beautiful scenery and the numerous relics of the past. He proved an indefatigable sightseer, met with artists and collectors, became a connoisseur of art and showed great love of the southern theatre. The first visits

were supposed to be frugal in order to impress on the people and officials that a responsible government would not unduly burden them, but the later and more frequent visits grew to be very costly indeed as the Emperor gave his taste for southern luxury free reign.

The first visit in 1684 was a moderate success where the Emperor had only limited contact with the populace. The second trip (and all the later ones) had the character of a triumphal procession. The Emperor was enthusiastically welcomed by huge crowds, and the towns en route were decorated with festoons, banners, ornamental arches (*pailou*) and lanterns. It is the overwhelming success of the second journey that is portrayed in the *Nanxuntu* scrolls.

The Southern Journey of 1689 lasted ten weeks from January 28 to April 8.⁴⁾ Setting out from the Capital, the Emperor and his large entourage travelled south through *Hebei* province reaching *Dezhou* (6) on the border of *Shandong* on February 2.⁵⁾ Visiting *Taishan* (7) on the way (February 6)⁶⁾ the Emperor continued south, arriving at *Tancheng* (8) district on February 11.⁷⁾ From here he crossed into *Jiangsu*, the first of the southern provinces, and he proceeded to inspect the waterways near *Suqian* (9).⁸⁾ So far the Emperor had been journeying over land. At *Suqian* the travellers boarded a fleet of barges and continued south on the Grand Canal, inspecting the *Qinghe* (10) area on the way.⁹⁾

Reaching *Suzhou* (11) on February 22¹⁰⁾ the Emperor made a short stay, and then slowly proceeded to the *Zhejiang* city of *Hangzhou* (12) which he visited from February 28 to March 3.¹¹⁾ Continuing towards the southeast the Emperor came as far as the *Shaoxing* (13) prefecture where he, very appropriately for a river-tamer, made an excursion to the tomb of the legendary king *Yu* (14) (March 5).¹²⁾ The trip had been planned to take the Emperor further south, but at this point he was persuaded that both the roads and waterways ahead were impassable for his large party, and he then decided to turn northward.¹³⁾

After a few days sojourn in *Suzhou* (the 10th–12th of March)¹⁴⁾ the travelling party went north along the Grand Canal to *Danyang* (15), from where it continued west to *Nanjing* (16), passing *Jurong* (17) on the way.¹⁵⁾ After a fairly long stay in the southern metropolis (March 16–20) the Emperor sailed east to *Yangzhou* (18).¹⁶⁾ On March 25 the imperial party started on the long return trip which included a couple of halts for river inspection. First they followed the Grand Canal, then travelled over land through the western part of *Shandong* (over *Jining* (19) and *Linqing* (20))¹⁷⁾, passed *Guchengxian* (21) and continued into *Hebei*¹⁸⁾, arriving finally in *Tianjin* (22) on the 7th of April.¹⁹⁾ This was the *Kangxi* Emperor's birthday, and he was received with much festivity. On the next day the Emperor returned to his palace in *Beijing* (23).²⁰⁾

*

The decision to have a set of commemorative paintings executed was made some time after the Emperor's return from the second Southern Tour and before the year 1691, when the artist *Wang Hui* arrived in *Beijing* to take part in the

work. His stay in the Capital lasted until 1698, that date being the terminus ante quem for the painting of the *Nanxuntu*.²¹⁾

There is no record in the *Shilu* (24) of the decision to commence the project²²⁾, but once it was started two high-ranking officials figure prominently in connection with it. Both are mentioned as inviting artists to take part in the work (in the cases of *Yang Jin* (25) and *Gu Fang* (26)) and taking care of the artists while they were in *Beijing*.²³⁾ Both men, *Song Junye* (27) and *Wang Shan* (28), were in the middle of distinguished careers, both had *Hanlin* (29) backgrounds, and in addition both were intimately connected with the leading *Jiangsu* art circles.

The later Grand Secretary *Wang Shan* (1645–1728) was the eighth son of *Wang Shimin* (30) (1592–1680), who was the Nestor of the orthodox school of painting.²⁴⁾ *Wang Shan* was brought up in an artistic milieu and from his childhood must have known the painter *Wang Hui*, who had lived in the *Wang* household for several years, studying art under his father. *Wang Shimin*'s unconditional praise of the young artist must have influenced *Wang Shan*'s opinion of him, and being the son of the leading artist of the day he, more than most people, should have been able to understand the reasons for the high esteem for *Wang Hui*. He was also of about the same age and a *jinshi* (31) graduate of the same year (1670) as his nephew, the painter and official *Wang Yuanqi* (32) (1642–1715), whom he no doubt knew well. In fact it may seem a little strange that *Wang Shan* did not bring his talented nephew in on the work, but in 1689 *Wang Hui*, being one of the country's most acclaimed artists, would have appeared a better choice than *Wang Yuanqi*, who was then known as a competent artist, but not yet one of genius, his great achievements dating from the last decades of his life. It may also be significant that *Wang Yuanqi* had been in mourning for his mother until 1690, when he resumed the important career position of a censor.²⁵⁾ *Wang Yuanqi*'s chance came later when the *Wanshou chang tu* (33) was to be painted in celebration of the *Kangxi* Emperor's 60th birthday. He was then the natural choice for director of the work.

Song Junye (died 1713) was also a member of a prominent *Jiangsu* family, and he was related to *Wang Shan* by marriage.²⁶⁾ He had been in the entourage on the second Southern Tour, and during that time he had been rewarded by the Emperor with a piece of imperial calligraphy.²⁷⁾ Along with his official career he was an amateur painter, and his art teacher happened to be none other than *Wang Hui*.²⁸⁾ In view of those excellent connections in high places it is not surprising that *Wang Hui* was invited to take part in the *Nanxuntu* project, but it is not clear whether he was meant to lead it. The important passage on the painting of the scrolls in *Wang*'s biography in the *Guochao Qixian Leizheng* (34) does suggest that from the outset he was but one of several major artists invited to the Capital, only he alone dared to take charge of the difficult work²⁹⁾:

“From everywhere lofty talents and skilled artists were assembled in the

Capital. All mixed ink, moistened the brustips, spread out the silk, looked at each other and racked their brains not daring to start painting and waiting for Mr. *Wang* to speak. The master dressed in a hermit's garb, sat on a dais and assumed leadership. He stared straight in front of him, concentrated for a long time and finally stated composition and execution, saying: Here we place towns, there we place mountains and rivers, here people are waiting for the imperial traveller, the entourage looks like this, imperial resting places like that, and here is the Emperor himself in procession. Mr. *Wang* led the work, painted here and there over the whole stretch of varied landscapes until the whole work was ready. The artists followed his directions, and now and again Mr. *Wang* added some strokes of extraordinary beauty. When the pictures were finished they were shown to the Emperor."

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The text may contain more than a little laudatory exaggeration, still it is quite evident that *Wang Hui* played a leading role in the creation of *Nanxuntu* and that the success of the project greatly increased his fame. For his efforts he was offered a position at court, which he refused, and he was given a fan by the Emperor with the words *shanshui qing hui* (35) (landscapes pure and radiant) in imperial calligraphy. The artist used these words for his *hao*, *Qing hui zhuren* (36).³⁰⁾

It is much less clear who the other skilled artists and lofty talents were. Other sections of the *Nanxuntu* may shed light on the problem, but with the available material not much can be told. Some court painters must have been involved, some in the capacity of artists, others more like artisans to whom was left the drudgery of filling in thousands of details. Of those invited to join the work only the names of *Wang Hui* and two of his pupils can be established with any degree of certainty. One of the disciples was *Yang Jin* (1644–ca. 1726), a painter of landscapes, figures, flowers and animals, who was considered a specialist in the portrayal of oxes.³¹⁾ The other one was the landscape painter *Gu Fang* (active ca. 1700).³²⁾ It would seem safe to assume that other students of *Wang Hui* took part in the work as well.

Two other names have been suggested. In his book on *Wang Hui*, *Hu Peiheng* mentions that *Shangguan Zhou* (37) (1664–1743) was put in charge of figure painting on the scrolls.³³⁾ This piece of information is not confirmed by *Shangguan Zhou's* biography³⁴⁾, and it does seem unlikely that a young artist at the age of 27 should have been entrusted with such an important task. Another possibility is that *Song Junye* may have served as a painter on the *Nanxuntu* as well as being one of the officials in charge of it. In fact, two sources credit *Song* with a painting bearing the title *Nanxuntu*, and it is this that has been confused with the *Wang Hui* paintings, as has been suggested by Walter Fuchs.³⁵⁾ One of the sources, the *Qingchao Tongzhi* (38), is so brief and vague, that it may suggest that *Song Junye's* name was used for the whole group of artists, as he was the

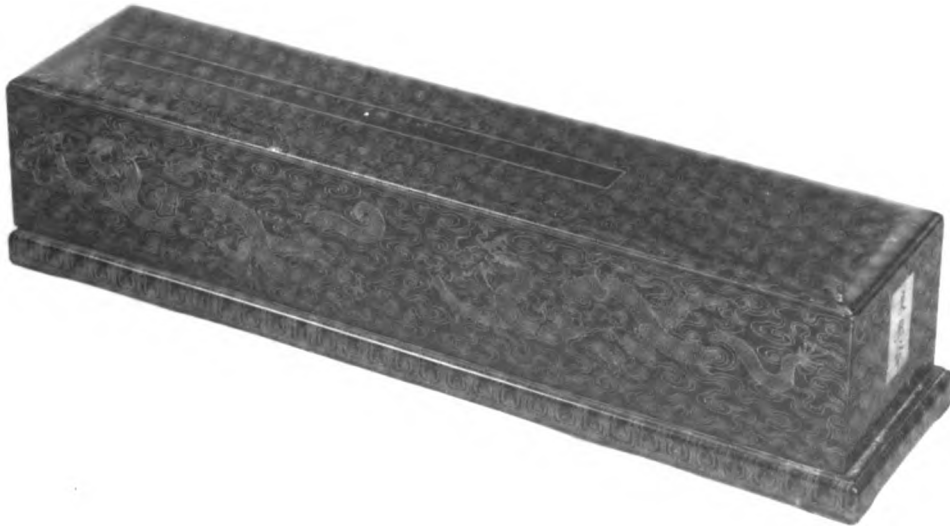
official responsible for the project.³⁶⁾ But this point of view is not substantiated by the second reference in the *Shi Qu Bao Ji* (39), which is a little more specific.³⁷⁾ This source states that *Song*'s painting consisted of one scroll, not twelve as for *Wang*'s *Nanxuntu*. It must be quite a different painting, and it could depict any of the *Kangxi* Emperor's six Southern Tours, but the possibility remains that it might have been a forerunner of, or maybe even a draft for, or copy of, the great *Nanxuntu* set of paintings.

The complete set of pictures of the Southern Journey, depicting the highlights of the Emperor's tour, consisted of twelve long scrolls painted on silk.³⁸⁾ They were presented to him no later than 1698, and then they presumably entered the imperial collections. From this moment on no record of the paintings exists. They are mentioned neither in the *Shi Qu Bao Ji* nor in the *Neiwubu Guwu Chenliesuo Shuhua Mulu* (40).³⁹⁾ This may just mean that they were not kept in the imperial palaces in *Beijing*, *Jehol* or *Mukden*, or perhaps that they were not found worth registering—the last hardly being the case since other *Nanxuntu* paintings have been catalogued. It seems unlikely that paintings with a near-document status should have been given away, and if they had entered private collections they would almost certainly have been commented upon, which they are not, judging from John Ferguson's analyses of literature on painting⁴⁰⁾, which contain only one entirely uninteresting reference to a biographical note on *Wang Hui*'s participation in the *Nanxuntu* work (in the *Ouboluoshi Shuhua Guomu Kao* (41)).⁴¹⁾ The only clue to the later history of the set is given by a small label pasted on the lower part of the end of the box for scroll number seven. It reads *Kangxi ye* (42), my father (or grandfather) the *Kangxi* Emperor. This could be the *Yongzheng* (43) or *Qianlong* (44) Emperor, but it might also be any other of the *Kangxi* Emperor's numerous descendants. It is probably a library tag, and the boxes in the Palace Museum must have the same paper label.

It is not known when the *Nanxuntu* set was broken up and some of the scrolls sent abroad—the history of the past century offers several possibilities. Most of the scrolls, perhaps all, still exist. Of those that can definitely be located, the largest number in one place is to be found in the Palace Museum in *Beijing*, which owns four scrolls. Information on them is very scarce, we do not even know what numbers these four scrolls represent in the set of twelve.⁴²⁾ Two scrolls are in the Musée Guimet in Paris.⁴³⁾ One of these is scroll number two, depicting the Emperor's route through southern *Hebei* and northern *Shandong* (corresponding to the days February 1 to 3 of the 1689 journey).⁴⁴⁾ The other scroll is number four, which shows the Emperor's route from southern *Shandong* into *Jiangsu* as far as *Suqianxian*, the first major site of river inspection (corresponding to February 11 and 12). The scroll in between these two is owned by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. This scroll no. 3 shows the route through central *Shandong* from *Jinan* (129) prefecture past *Taishan*, described in a magnificent landscape section, to the *Mengyin* (45) district (February 5 to 8).⁴⁵⁾

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Nanxuntu scroll number seven is kept in a lacquered box that itself is a very fine work of art. It consists of a lid (77 by 18,2 by 14,3 cm) that fits over a frame (73,9 by 15,5 by 12,2 cm). The frame is fastened to a protruding base measuring 78,4 by 19,9 by 3,2 cm.⁴⁶⁾ The lid is held in place by bolts placed inside the box, opening and closing being performed simply by sliding the lid a little. The exterior of the box is lacquered black, and decoration is made with gold-filled incisions. The five outer surfaces of the lid are covered with finely executed dragons moving among clouds (most of them of the imperial five-clawed species). The base has a petal panel pattern which constitutes the lower border of the decoration. Inside the box the lacquering is red with gold flecks. On the top of the lid gold lines set off a long, narrow rectangle in such a way that it seems superimposed on the cloud- and dragon-filled ground. In it the title and date of the painting appear in gold-filled carving. The title, in large characters, reads: *Nanxuntu di qi juan* (46), Pictures of the Southern Tour, scroll number seven. Below to the right follows in smaller characters: The 28th year of the *Kangxi* period, cyclical year *jisi*, second month (*Kangxi ershiba nian jisi eryue* (47)) corresponding to February 20 to March 20 1689. Under the inscription is carved an imitation of a square seal that reads: *Tianfu zhen zang* (48), precious possession of the Celestial Palace. On the lower short end of the lid is pasted the earlier-mentioned rectangular paper label with the three characters *Kangxi ye*.



The painting itself is a handscroll 2909,5 cm long and 69 cm high. The surface of the painting covers 2195 by 68 cm high. There is an introductory colophon, written on silk, 67,5 cm wide. The outermost part of the scroll, from the edge to

the start of the painting, consists of six sections of silk and paper, altogether 284,5 cm long (including the colophon).⁴⁷⁾ The final *tuozhi* (49) measures 340 cm. The upper and lower edges are protected with brown paper borders. The *baoshou* (50) cover is made from cube-patterned golden and light-blue silk, and it has a label which reads: The Southern Tour, scroll number seven: Starting from the *Wuxi* district the Emperor went to stay in the *Suzhou* prefecture (*Nanxuntu di qi juan zi Wuxixian zhubi Suzhoufu* (51)). The painting itself consists of one long length of silk richly painted with ink and many colours. The undecorated silk surfaces have yellowed somewhat, but apart from some fading in the section following the *Huqiu* (52) temple, the colours are very well preserved.⁴⁸⁾ There are a few short tears in the scroll, but otherwise its condition is very good. Apart from the introductory colophon and some placenames added to the scenes depicted, the scroll has neither colophons, signatures, dates nor seals—it has the appearance of a painting that has been handled very little and not been subjected to normal appraisal, let alone the highly destructive connoisseurship practiced by some of the later *Qing* Emperors.

The introductory colophon gives a short table of contents of the scroll and tries to capture some of the excitement of the tour that cannot be conveyed in painting (plate 1):

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The seventh scroll.

From the *Wuxi* (53) district the Emperor came through *Hushuguan* (54) and arrived at the *Chang* (55) gate in *Suzhou* where people in gay attire crammed the streets. With a specially selected entourage and appurtenances he entered the city. Officials and commoners, greybeards and youngsters, all keenly felt the great favour bestowed on them. With cries of welcome, music and dancing and burning of incense, they knelt down on both sides of the festooned streets. In the course of the tour the Emperor gave audiences at the stopping places. With sincerity deeper than *Yao* (56) ever showed they tumultuously tried to hold back the Emperor's carriage. While offering wine and fruits they sang hymns praising his virtue. All these details are difficult to convey in a painting. Our Emperor had compassion on the people of *Jiangsu*, remitted taxes, cancelled rents and made promotions. To be benerous to others is the finest achievement of the heart. As for instance on the occasion of the pavilion erected by the *Huqiu* community he gave his congratulations. And moreover he presented them with an inscription on silk.

In order fully to understand the scroll some additional historical details should be given. Travelling by boat, on the 21st of February the Emperor started from *Haizikou* (57) in the *Changzhou* (58) prefecture and moored for the night northwest of the district town of *Wuxi*, at or near the temple island of *Huangbudun* (59).⁴⁹⁾ On the 22nd, after paying a visit to the *Qin* (61) family gardens⁵⁰⁾, he proceeded approximately fifty kilometers south along the Grand

Canal to the city of *Suzhou*, where he stayed at the *Zhizaofu* (62), the residence of the inspector of the imperial silk factory.⁵¹⁾ On the next day the Emperor left the city early and went to the *Huqiu* temple, passing *Shantang* (63) village on the way.⁵²⁾

The detailed description of the visit to the temple recorded in the *Suzhou* local history is an excellent example of how well the Emperor succeeded in establishing a popular image of himself among his people. Having ordered a complete tour of the temple the Emperor kept asking questions to make sure that he would miss nothing and to demonstrate his sincere interest in the famous place with its intricate system of ponds and its beautiful surroundings. As a token of his benevolence he ordered a rubbing made from a stele erected by the *Huqiu* community—his praise of its initiatives is strongly emphasized in the colophon—and as something more substantial he donated a hundred ounces of silver to the temple. Further he displayed his respect for religion by worshipping the buddha in the *Daxiong* (64) hall and he demonstratively showed his refinement by walking up to a jade-butterfly plum tree in early bloom, gazing at it and touching it with his hands. As he was leaving the temple the Emperor received the cheers of his subjects, and he listened to a petition for tax remittances before returning to the city. On the 24th of February he left the city of *Suzhou*, but stayed in the prefecture for another day to make excursions to famous places.⁵³⁾

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Scroll number seven opens with an impressive panorama of the landscape northwest of the district town of *Wuxi* (plates 2–3). In a narrow, rocky and densely vegetated foreground small groups of people carrying poles and parcels are walking towards the left past a roof-covered stele and a small temple compound. An unhurried mood is suggested by two men in relaxed conversation in the temple doorway. The place is identified as *Fangshengchi* (65) by characters written between the branches immediately left of the stele.⁵⁴⁾ This foreground scenery is dwarfed by the enormous expanse of water in the middle-distance introducing the Grand Canal, the main motif in the first two-thirds of the scroll. Reed-grown banks and massed waves lead towards the background, where mountain ranges rise over mists, both vapours and rocks repeating the undulating movement of the water. The mountains, identified as *Jiulongshan* (66), lead toward the left, first drawing nearer and then receding when below them flat land appears from the fog introducing a diagonal line, that takes the spectator to the nearly circular island of *Huangbudun*.⁵⁵⁾ The diagonal movement towards the island is also emphasized by the small boats travelling towards or moored at the island—three of the boats in near-collision represents the first of many small humorous incidents that help create the impression that the scroll gives a sympathetic view of real life. The background diagonal is not only a means of introducing movement into the scroll, but also a depiction of the actual scenery. The mountain range from *Jiulongshan* to *Huishan* (67) running west-east draws

closer as the traveller moves down the northwest-southeast line of the Grand Canal.⁵⁶⁾

In the background between the willow-grown peninsula and the receding hills three locations are identified by name. To the right are the pavilions, ancient trees and tall bamboo of the *Qinyuan*, the *Qin* family gardens which the Emperor visited and took such a lively interest in.⁵⁷⁾ In the centre can be seen the roofs and upper floors of the *Huishansi* (68), the name being given near the top of the painting.⁵⁸⁾ To the left at the beginning of a new mountain range the temple and pagoda of *Xishan* (69) provide an imposing landmark.⁵⁹⁾ The balance between that and the temple island on the canal puts a sharp brake on the movement through the scroll, thus emphasizing the importance of *Huangbudun*, which served as imperial quarters on the 21st of February. It is the starting point of the journey described in the introductory colophon to the scroll. The Emperor has left the island earlier in the day, it is still gaily decorated with arches and lanterns and is now being visited by holiday-makers.

The opening section is one of the few pure landscape paintings in the scroll. It is executed in the manner of the *Qing* orthodox school, and the quality of the painting is very high. Inside contour lines hemp-fibre strokes make up the basic brushwork. They are covered by light washes of faded green and terracotta, and finally dots have been added. In both land and water the predominant colour is green, terracotta has been used, rather sparingly, on level land. Here and there patches of bright green has been added for effect. In contrast to nature, houses and humans are strongly coloured. The roofs are dark grey, walls and pillars are red, ornamental arches, lanterns and other decoration have all sorts of bright colours. Most costumes are in tones of blue, but brown, green and pink garments are also seen. Most of the men wear red hats.

The technical execution of the *Jiulongshan* range is somewhat at variance with the rest of the scroll. The rounded rock shapes, heavy mists and extensive use of *Mi*-strokes suggest the orthodox school interpretation of the *Mi Fu-Gao Kegong* (70) style. The only style characteristic that can clearly be referred to *Wang Hui* and his school rather than to the orthodox movement in general is the mechanical use of great numbers of dots along the outlines of the landmasses.

From *Huangbudun* the spectator is led south along the Grand Canal (plates 3–4). A major change in composition takes place immediately left of the temple island. While the first scene in the scroll is a large-scale panorama, the next long section presents a close-up view of life along the canal in the vicinity of *Wuxi* town. The transition is one of the least successful segments of composition in the scroll, clearly revealing the difficulties the artists faced trying to produce a coherent painting from enormously diverse material. In the foreground a few boats provide stepping stones to the two lower bands of the next scene, those of the canal and its nearer bank. The change in scale is very sudden and is also felt when the scroll is unrolled little by little. In the background the hills behind

Xishan recede into the mists of deep distance. Strongly emphasized horizontal bands of mist continue left to provide a background of alternating bands of treetops and fog in the next scene. The marked change in depth and the coherence between the scenes is not very convincing. These apparently rule-lined fog bands occur throughout the scroll as a means of creating distance or simplifying complicated compositions, and though they are usually more successfully employed than in this instance, in general they do not enhance the artistic quality of the painting. As a final means of joining the scenes a plane of level land starting below *Xishan* is widened and brought closer to the foreground by a long diagonal line along which the next narrative begins as we are led from the countryside past a few houses and a temple to the suburbs of *Wuxi*.

The *Wuxi* scenery itself is composed of three horizontal bands visibly connected by two arched stone bridges, but also held together by a net of more or less obvious guiding lines that lead the eyes back and forth over the minutely detailed painting, allowing the viewer to take in everything (plates 4-6). *Wuxi* itself, an ancient walled city important in history and art history, is hardly depicted at all. A gate with the name of the place, a length of city wall and a single street appear just left of the first bridge. Instead interest focuses on the two suburbs separated by fields in the background, and on a third group of houses left of the city wall and adjacent to the second stone bridge. The outlines of the background suburbs are rather alike, but variation is introduced in the details and in the different placing of the stone bridges leading to them.

The artists working on the scroll have tried to portray life in a small commercial town, and they have filled the painting with an astonishing amount of detail. In this section, as in all the other city scenes throughout the scroll, no reproduction in reduced size can do justice to the minute, extremely accurate and immensely varied mass of details, which even in the original requires the use of a magnifying glass to be fully appreciated. The painstaking accuracy in the painting of hundreds of houses is nothing compared to the painting of the profusion of shops with all their goods on display, and the several thousand human figures and animals. There are certain standard types of figures, but the stock of them is so large and there is so much variation that it seems as if the scroll is filled with portraits of individuals, not just stereotyped humans as is often seen in lesser paintings. The animal painting is also very good, the small format considered, the frolicking donkeys to the right of the first bridge and the water buffaloes in the fields between the background suburbs being fine examples.

One of the special attractions of the *Nanxuntu* is clearly revealed in the *Wuxi* scenery. The painting is not intended as a mere topographical description, as were some of the later Southern Tour paintings and prints, it is a narrative scroll which appeals to the spectator by very slowly building up a feeling of expectation and excitement. In this way it manages to convey some of the mood that the introductory colophon tries to capture in writing. The Emperor is not shown until

late in the scroll, but almost from the beginning the beholder is being prepared for the meeting with him. After the opening scene which provides a setting but makes no allusion to the imperial visit, the second scene makes it obvious that people are in a festive mood and that something of great importance has happened only a short while ago. The Emperor has passed *Wuxi* earlier in the day, the shops are now open, but many people still fill the streets and everywhere signs of the imperial visit can be seen. In every house candles and incense burners are displayed, decorative arches have been erected near the bridges and in the walled town of *Wuxi* a multi-coloured festoon, the first of many in the scroll, marks the Emperor's visit.

In terms of geography the distance from *Wuxi* to *Hushuguan* amounts to more than half of the distance covered in scroll number seven. It is also the least important part of the journey, and therefore in the painting it has been reduced to a minimum, and a number of means have been employed to bring the spectator through it quickly (plates 6–8). In the foreground the *Wuxi* scenery ends rather abruptly in a row of houses facing the right. Beyond them we are suddenly brought into the countryside. A new kind of terrain with low hills and an irregularly shaped canal bank give impetus as the land narrows down to form a peninsula. The broad base of this triangular composition is designated *Yaotou* (71). As the name suggests it is a kiln site with two bee-hive shaped kilns that produce dark grey bricks. They are stored near the houses and later carried down to waiting sampans to be shipped off. Rusticity is stressed by the generous space between the buildings and the thatching on their roofs. The second group of houses near the tip of the peninsula is named *Xin'an* (72). Modern *Xin'an* is located southeast of *Wuxi* on the Grand Canal at approximately one third of the distance from *Wuxi* to *Suzhou*. Travelling very fast indeed we reach *Wangting* (73) at the tip of the land-tongue just right of a ruined bridge. This is the border between the *Wuxi* district of *Changzhou* prefecture and the *Changzhou* (74) district of *Suzhou* prefecture, located mid-way between the two cities of *Wuxi* and *Suzhou*, and a place of some historical significance.⁶⁰)

In the background the far bank of the canal recedes slowly into the distance. A temple and small groups of houses continue the city, distracting attention from the sudden break in composition in the foreground. A curious pearl-string of people walking along the canal leads into the far background, emphasizing distance by letting the figures diminish in size as they recede. Beyond the last human figure the canal forms a kind of bay which is drawn rather sketchily, looking naked and bleak. The outlines of the bay and the row of people all seem to end in a fixed vanishing point. Again the bank is brought closer in a few short steps, making use of pronounced size difference between close and far away objects. There is no bend on the Grand Canal as the scroll suggests, so the composition must be interpreted as a kind of abbreviation. In the deliberate use of the relationship between size and distance and in the bay-like bank that looks as if

drawn in linear perspective there is more than a little hint at Western art techniques, but the resemblance may well be accidental.

A final means of speeding the viewer through the long stretch of uneventful travel is provided by the boats on the canal. This is the only place where they carry sails, going south at full speed. A group of boats moored above *Wangting*, where the bank has again been brought closer, puts an end to the briskly travelled stage and opens the next section, which is the passage of *Hushuguan* (plates 8–11).

The *Hushuguan* scene resembles the *Wuxi* scene in that the basic composition consists of three slightly curved horizontal bands connected by bridges and a web of lines that guide the eyes through the complicated urban scenery. However, the composition in this section is more firm, and passage through it is made easy by two horizontal streets running from one end of the town to the other.

The broad background plays the dominant role. Left of the moored boats a street begins, running past a group of houses and a side-street dominated by a dye-workshop, a hint that the part of the country shown in the scroll is the heart of the textile industry. Crossing a low bridge the viewer continues into *Hushuguan* proper. Just left of the bridge we find a shop dealing in *Kangxi* blue-and-white porcelain. An enviable customer is rejecting bowls one by one, and a shop assistant is bringing out more pieces for inspection from the back-room. Towards the left the scene grows rather complicated as more and more details are introduced. The centre of attention is still the crowded street with its many shops. Below it are houses facing the canal, filled with people watching the traffic. Behind the street are the inner courtyards of private houses with the quarters for women and children.

Passing a large brick-gate the spectator finally arrives at the main attraction, the custom house of *Hushuguan*, the name of which is given near the top of the painting. Except from the quay on the canal it is a typical yamen with gates left and right protecting a front-square, from which passage into the compound is provided by two smaller gates flanked by bell- and drum-towers. Behind them is the main entrance, protected by a spirit-wall. The central courtyard looks rather empty, the offices and store-houses being situated in a compound to the right. Two orange-coloured flags on poles at the entrance further identify the official buildings. Founded in 1429, most of the structures were erected in *Ming* times when they served as tax-bureau and later as custom house, quite an important one in terms of trade. In early *Qing* it was converted into a circuit- and sub-prefectural office for a few years (1648–51), but later returned to its old status. Like so many other official buildings *Hushuguan* has not survived up till the present. It was destroyed by fire in 1860, a fact that adds to the historical value of the painting.⁶¹⁾

The main street continues beyond the yamen, crossing a side-street and a canal spanned by an arched stone bridge. To the left there are a few more houses and a

small temple behind three tall pines. The section ends in a hill on which is situated a shrine to the God of Literature (*Wenchangge* (75)). Below the hill to the left are two small houses named *Shidu* (76).⁶²⁾

Returning to the beginning of the section the border site of *Wangting* in the foreground is followed by a rural scene behind which houses begin to appear. Life here is as rosy as the flowering plum trees standing near the neat houses, discreetly indicating the season in which the Southern Journey takes place. Some men have been fishing and are now returning home with their catch. A well-dressed woman and a few men and children are picking cabbage, and three water buffaloes are lying or standing idle next to some fine haystacks. The fields have been planted and the tender crop looks promising. Left of this Chinese Arcadia the city appears rather suddenly, giving the viewer the choice of crossing an arched stone bridge leading to the background or continuing in the foreground down another busy street filled with details quite as fascinating as those in the background. Half way down the street an ornamental arch stands in front of a small stone bridge with a watergate. A wooden floating bridge completes the span to the far bank. This is the toll bar of *Hushuguan*. The tardiness of the local bureaucracy is clearly testified to by the boats waiting on both sides of the barrier, their crews relaxing and eating while the formalities are being taken care of in the offices in the background.

The last part of the foreground street contains an amusing little episode, that is nearly drowned in the richness of the total scene. Monks in a long line are making their begging rounds, and everywhere people seem eager to fill their bowls. Most of the monks look ancient, dilapidated and not really venerable.⁶³⁾

A small flat bridge spanning a side-canal leads on to the left, where a triple-arched stone bridge directs the eye towards the two temples in the background, while the foreground landstrip comes to an end with the depiction of a boat-builder's yard. Two river boats are under construction on land while several more have anchored near the banks either waiting for repairs or just making use of the protection offered by the huge bridge. The place bustles with activity, and the scene is so detailed that it is possible to study the craftsmen's tools and the methods of construction.

Transition from *Hushuguan* to the next scene (plates 11–13) is provided by a short interval of water and fog. In the foreground five boats on the canal serve as stepping stones between the adjoining land areas. In the background only the two houses of *Shidu* and a distant bridge, a temple and some treetops rise above the mists. In spite of its insignificant appearance *Shidu* provides a key to the interpretation of this part of the scroll. It is located quite a distance south of *Hushuguan*, so by including the name the painters have indicated that at this point most of the travel to *Suzhou* has been completed. Furthermore it serves as a link to *Shantang*, which is shown a little later in the painting (plate 13).

The bridge in the far background is named *Fengqiao* (77) and the temple to the

left is the *Hanshansi* (78). Both are located some kilometers west of the city of *Suzhou*.⁶⁴) So far the Emperor has travelled southeast along the almost straight line of the Grand Canal, but at this point the route to *Suzhou* bends east. The heavy fog is a very convenient means of getting over the difficulties of illustrating the change in direction, and moreover makes the abbreviation of distance suggested by the name of *Shidu* more convincing. Perhaps most important of all, it effectively sets off the next scene in the scroll, which is not on the main route at all.

The *Bantang* (79) temple which is found in this section is located to the southwest of *Fengqiao* and *Hanshansi*.⁶⁵) The composition affords refreshing variation from the now familiar horizontal-band urban sceneries. Although it slants left into another strip of densely populated level land, most of the section is a true landscape painting with a fine balance between forms painted in detail and forms merely suggested by the fogs. The misty land seems to continue deep into the distance as far as the *Hanshan* temple, and the elsewhere so strongly emphasized leftward movement is halted for a little while, allowing the spectator to enjoy the very attractive scenery. Boats returning to the shore, floating mists and flocks of birds flying towards sheltering trees suggest early evening. Spring is indicated by the naked trees and several flowering plum trees. The pink of the flowers contrasts with the bright green colour used on the steep banks, and both colours look brilliant against the faded green and brown of the other trees and the light ink washes of the land and fog. Texture strokes have been used sparingly in the form of short, dotlike brushstrokes that are hardly noticed at all under the ink-and colour washes. The *Bantang* temple, usually famed for its gingko trees, is placed in the distance and surrounded by tall pines and mists.

The *Song*-like idyll is soon broken. From a farm in the centre of the composition level land leads back to the canal and to a very lively figure scene. People are gathering on the bank and in moored boats to watch a theatrical performance taking place on the side-deck of a large boat. The paying audience is seated with wine and food around a table in the cabin while two actors are performing. The musicians are seated to the right, and the foredeck serves as green-room. A group of actors waiting here to make their appearance are getting as much attention from the crowd ashore as is the play itself. The next boat seems to belong to the theatre company. It is filled with hats, false beards and other props. Inclusion of this detail illustrates the festive mood surrounding the Emperor's visit, and might also refer to the *Kangxi* Emperor's interest in the Southern theatre.⁶⁶)

The nearly triangular shape of the *Bantang* section rising from the lower rim of the scroll is balanced by the next portion of land, which has roughly the shape of an inverted, flat triangle (plates 13–14). Between the two areas of land the canal reappears, running towards and filling out the foreground once again. Attention is drawn to the village on the far bank named *Shantang* by characters written on the

stones of the bank itself. The main street with shops on one side and boats on the other leads over a stone bridge on the left and into the next scene. Three foreigners of Central Asian origin are walking in the street just where it bends into the distance. Much is made of their strange appearance. Their dark complexion, large beards and flowing robes in white, red and brown attract curiosity from the locals who gaze at them or follow them. A little to the right of the foreign friends is a wonderful children's toy shop, but the most important establishment in the village is the miniature-tree nursery, which has a small shop front onto the street and large inner courtyards filled with pots of ingeniously designed trees and miniature landscapes. It is perhaps the most pleasing example of the *tour-de-force* in technique and elaborateness that contributes to making the scroll impressive. In the far distance a *Guandi* (80) shrine rises over the mists and treetops.

Shantang is a village on the *Huqiu Shantang* stream that runs past the *Huqiu* temple. The stream meets the *Changdang* (81) stream at *Shidu*. As *Shidu* was indicated on the scroll immediately before the mists introducing the *Bantang* scene (plate 11), the name of *Shantang* suggests that we have returned to the main route at almost exactly the point where we left it on a detour to the *Bantang* temple to the south.⁶⁷⁾

Immediately another detour is begun as we travel from *Shantang* to the neighbouring *Huqiu*. This is a logical sequence in terms of geography, but it represents a break in the temporal progression which is strictly adhered to in the rest of the scroll—the Emperor did not visit the temple until the day after his arrival in *Suzhou* (February 23).

The canal disappears along a diagonal line into the distance, from where it is later reintroduced, bringing the *Huqiu* scene to an end (plates 14–16)—a composition similar to that of the *Bantang* section. From the *Zhenzhuo* (82) bridge the slightly curving lines of the houses and street lead slowly to the lower rim of the scroll, producing a foreground above which the temple hill composition is developed by means of a long, tense S-curve that leads from the front gate near the water upwards and into the distance as far as the pagoda on the summit. The transition from the close-up view of life on the canal to the monumental panorama of the famous hill is masterly, part of its success owing to the gradual reduction in size of people and objects in the distance.

The scroll gives a complete tour of the temple. The fame of the place is cleverly indicated by the many visitors filling the grounds and by the nature of the shops below the hill. Like all great tourist attractions the way to *Huqiu* is lined with taverns and curio shops. Two monks stand greeting at the *Shanmen* (83) entrance (the name *Huqiu* is written next to it) as the visitor enters the temple, passes the *Hanhanquan* (84) and comes to the large open space dominated by the *Qianren* (85) rock.⁶⁸⁾ To the left is the famous sword pond (*Jianchi* (86)) spanned by a bridge above the ravine and with the towering pagoda behind it. In the centre is

set the *Diantou* (87) rock, and to the right a path leads on to the top of the hill. Here the *Guhe* (88) torrent is found to the right under the pine trees, and to the left are indicated the *Wanshou* (89) pavilion and the *Daxiong* hall. A dramatic finale is provided by the bright green rock walls that rise over the level land to the left like crags over the ocean.

The soft cloudlike mists at their foot provide a link to the level land to the left, which in its plainness adds to the grandeur of *Huqiu*. Fields, fog and water mingle to form a deep plane on which are set a few groups of houses among trees. It is early evening and people are beginning to return to their homes. This small section, which merely serves as an interlude between two highly exciting and elaborate scenes, is more poetic than most compositions in the scroll.

The long diagonal line of the canal leading from the misty background towards the middle distance introduces one of the suburbs of *Suzhou* (plates 16–17). The rather sudden changes in scenery and proportions are made to seem natural by a gradual build-up of houses on both banks of the canal. In the suburb the central street, running the entire length from the foreground across a large bridge and into the background, marks a change in the rhythm of the composition. To the right of it lines are allowed to curve slightly, and the diagonals are long and relatively flat. The main street itself and the houses to the left of it are drawn with shorter, steeper lines, that are straight and woven into a criss-cross pattern, which produces a kind of tension. Lots of people and several arches and festoons more obviously add a note of excitement. As we move towards the left, the land in the foreground is replaced by water crowded with boats. In the background a bridge connects the suburb to the *Chang* gate of *Suzhou*, a huge and truly impressive fortification.

Below it to the left the Emperor is arriving in *Suzhou* (plates 17–18). The boats of his entourage, all flying square yellow flags, have moored or are holding back on the water while the imperial barge is landing. On its sides are painted five-clawed dragons, and it flies an oblong yellow standard with flame-like borders. On the foredeck two guards stand under a yellow canopy, while a servant next to them is holding a yellow parasol ready. The Emperor himself is seated in the cabin in full view of his subjects. The scenery ashore is spectacular. Flanking a red carpet the guard of honour in yellow jackets stands at attention. To the left there is a beautiful light-blue medallion carpet on either side of which officials are kneeling, civilian on the left, military on the right, all of them identifiable by their mandarin squares. A magnificent white horse is held ready for the Emperor, and next to it two attendants are waiting with lit paper lanterns—an indication that here at the end of the day's journey it is now evening. An arch and an altar provide a suitable backdrop for the elaborate ceremony that is about to take place.

The narrow quays and the street to the right are packed with respectfully kneeling subjects. Two men are rushing up the street warning them of the Emperor's arrival, just behind them a man is running for his life to get across the

street in time. There is a remarkable difference between this show of awe and the scene to the left, depicting the arrival of the entourage. The confusion of men and horses gives a vague idea of the difficulties involved in organizing a trip for several hundred people, and it brings to mind *Zhang Ying's* (90) vivid account of the hardships suffered when travelling in the entourage.⁶⁹) The members of the retinue are standing in small groups talking or with amused smiles watching a nervous colleague being helped ashore across a narrow plank. Apparently they are quite oblivious of the pomp of the welcome just next to them.

The *Changmen* scene is the pivotal part of the scroll both in terms of composition and in subject matter. It provides the historical information that the Emperor visited *Suzhou* on his inspection tour to the South. In terms of plot what comes before this section is in the immediate past—the Emperor has passed through these landscapes on his journey. What comes after is in the immediate future—the Emperor is about to visit the famous city of *Suzhou*. The first part of the scroll, using the Grand Canal as a red thread, is meant to depict daily life in southern China. The story reaches a peak at *Changmen* with a display of imperial power. But instead of ending at this logical culmination the scroll proceeds to show the bustle and excitement in *Suzhou* city just prior to the Emperor's arrival. This is a stroke of genius. It adds a nice feeling of symmetry to the scroll, builds up interest and excitement beyond what could be expected, and manages to depict *Suzhou* at the end of a long painting as the most spectacular of many grand scenes, thus solving the problem of monotony. The long, somewhat repetitive progress along the canal is forgotten in the delightful final scenes of the city, where the streets and bands of mist take over as new leitmotifs. And finally it drives home the point of the Emperor's popularity among the Chinese. Where the first part of the scroll may be said to focus on the material well-being of the population, the second part may be interpreted as a fervent declaration of loyalty.

Suzhou is not treated as one subject, but as three scenes showing different parts of the city. In the first, the streets of the city are shown in some detail, in the second, a grand panorama makes it clear that the city is vast, and in the third, the Emperor's temporary palace is shown.

The first section is a composition clearly outlined by three parallel diagonals—first the city wall and the street just inside it, next a narrow canal flanked by streets, and finally a long street running from top to bottom of the scroll (plates 18–21). These three diagonals are intersected by numerous horizontal lines consisting of rows of rooftops, bands of mist and two streets shown in full detail near the upper and lower borders of the scroll. The firm grid-like composition is a natural choice for showing the regular plan of a Chinese city. It also greatly simplifies what would otherwise have been an extremely complicated city scenery by “spotlighting” a few streets. Finally, the composition attempts a convincing description of the Emperor's route through the city from the northwestern *Chang* gate to the temporary palace in the southeastern quarter of

the city.⁷⁰⁾ This is done partly by leading the spectator by a zigzag route through streets shown in close-up, thus giving an impression of the many turns on the procession route, and partly by adding place names to postulate a topographical realism that could not possibly be achieved in the hand-scroll format.

Festoons coloured in light tones of green, red and yellow lead from the scene of the Emperor's arrival through the fortress of *Changmen* and into the city, where a street appears almost directly above the arrival scene. The first turn occurs at a crowded intersection from where the route runs parallel to the city wall to the foreground. It then turns and continues left through the lower part of the scroll, running into a small square, which leads to the *Gao* (91) bridge. The rather small area of the square (about 30 by 24 cm on the picture surface) is perhaps the most impressive figure composition in the entire scroll. By rough count some 350 figures are depicted here, most of them individually characterized, all of them by their actions or poses showing restless anticipation of the Emperor's arrival. The surrounding houses are deserted by all save a few servants and the shop attendants who crane their necks to get a good view of the street. People are milling around, talking, watching, or listening to the music from an orchestra on the second floor of the building next to the bridge. Here and there porters try to push their way through the crowd without much luck.

It is possible to cross the *Gao* bridge and pass into the next city block, but quite soon the street makes a new turn and dives below the edge of the scroll. It is better to follow the diagonal line from the square to the bridge in the distance over which is written *Huanglifang* (92) (the name of a district southeast of *Changmen*, but still in the western part of the city). Here the street turns left and runs through the entire length of the next city block. An elaborate system of ornamental arches and festoons covers the street and obscures the view of most of the shops. One of the exceptions is the scroll-mounter's shop depicted about half-way down the street, just next to a free-standing arch. A painting is spread out on the table for mounting, two others, a bamboo painting and a landscape painting in misty *Mi*-style decorate the walls. The shop alludes to the importance of *Suzhou* in the history of Chinese art. At the end of the street the festooned route makes a last turn and runs diagonally to the lower rim of the picture where it disappears from view.

Bands of roofs and treetops continue from the left side of the street into the next scene, which is an evening panorama of *Suzhou* (plates 21–23). The city looks like a sea of mist with many islands in the form of houses. It is very quiet, devoid of life except for three persons crossing a bridge in the distance. Set between two hectic and compact scenes it provides a breathing space, at the same time linking the adjoining scenes with numerous horizontal lines. The transition from close-up to over-all view and back to close-up is nearly imperceptible. Though it is a very short section compared to the rest of the scroll, it is made to seem large because of the trapezium shape that opens into limitless space. No

route is indicated through the panorama, and the only topographical clue is the multistoried *Yuanmiao Guan Miluo Yan* (93) that towers in a not clearly defined distance. Nevertheless the section succeeds very well in suggesting passage from west to east through the large city.

The last section of the scroll depicts *Suzhou's Zhizaofu* and its immediate surroundings (plates 23–24). This office of the superintendent of the imperial silk factory served as travel palace on the 1689 tour and on several later Southern Journey visits to *Suzhou*. It was destroyed in 1860 along with many other official buildings.⁷¹⁾ Some reconstruction was carried out later, and other more accurate diagrams of the yamen are extant⁷²⁾ — still the scroll's depiction of the residence has historical value.

The final part of the route to the palace emerges from the mists in middle distance and leads straight to the octagonal forecourt of the official building, clearly marked as such by two flagpoles flying orange-coloured flags. A narrow foreground is provided by a strip of canal and some treetops, while the main plane, which is also quite close to the observer, has the depth of the central axis of the palace. Far distance is provided by trees and fog in what might be a garden behind the buildings. The diagonal line of the central axis is balanced to the left by a continuation of the street and by houses adjoining the axis. These few houses bringing symmetry to the composition are followed by fog, that swallows up everything and brings the scroll to an abrupt, but not unsatisfactory end.

The scenery in and around the palace is fascinating. Now shortly before the Emperor's arrival, spectators are gathering along the street and at the forecourt fence, but preparations for the reception are still not complete. Servants are rushing about carrying trays with food and fruit for the evening meal, porters carry heavy boxes, even a table is being moved in the last minute preparations. Some members of the entourage are leading their horses towards *Zhizaofu*. Others have reached the forecourt and are greeting each other, unloading parcels and bringing them inside the palace. In the inner courtyards quiet still reigns. Work on silk manufacture has ceased. Idle looms can be seen in several houses on both sides of the main axis, a few workers are carrying away the last rolls of silk. Expectation centres on the main hall, which is the third building on the axis. In front of the house an ornamental arch has been erected, and inside a yellow chair on a carpet stands waiting for the Emperor's first audience in *Suzhou*. Luxury and good taste is evidenced in the right wing of the palace. Here small gardens with old plum trees and strange rocks adorn the courtyards, along with potted miniature trees displayed on tables. Inside, books, scrolls and various antiques are on display as evidence that it is a residence fit for an Emperor.

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Nanxuntu has obvious historical importance as a pictorial record of China three centuries ago. Life is idealized on the silk, but the scroll presents more than

a Potemkin facade. It contains a veritable catalogue of trades and gives a wealth of information on all sorts of subjects ranging from craftsmen's tools to court ceremonial. In this the scroll is not unique, but among several paintings depicting daily life it is one of the richest in subject matter and finest in execution.

Nanxuntu is more problematic as a work of art. It is done collectively by a rather large group of artists. In subject matter it belongs to a category of painting not so highly regarded in the later centuries of dynastic art, and its purpose was historical documentation rather than refined expression, as the ideal was. Leaving aside the matter of inspiration, it is a very competent work of art. The tasteful balance between brilliant and subdued colours, the superior brushwork and the almost incredible attention to detail are conspicuous expressions of technical excellence. The handling of composition and style, moreover, gives evidence of the work of truly creative artists.

The composition represents a set subject. Logically, it is based on the geography of the Emperor's travel, and it shows the highlights of the route such as towns and cities, places of historical importance and locations famous for their beauty. The artistic challenge consisted in suggesting travel over large distances while at the same time linking successive scenes, and in introducing a narrative to avoid turning the painting into an empty, repetitive parade of towns and tourist attractions.

Means of suggesting distance such as fog or vanishing points have been used rather sparingly in the painting. The addition of placenames and the sheer size and compactness of the scroll suffice to convey the impression of a long journey when the scroll is unrolled a little at a time. Instead the artists have concentrated on joining the scenes in such a way that no strongly felt break in the composition occurs. In this they have succeeded very well. With an exception near the beginning of the scroll, one scene flows elegantly into the next.

The narrative in the scroll had to portray life in southern China, show the Emperor himself on his travel and capture some of the jubilant mood surrounding the Southern Tour. In doing so the artists have resorted to the obvious precedent for river-town paintings, the *Qingming shang-he tu* (94).⁷³ Like the Song dynasty painting *Nanxuntu* opens with a view of the peaceful countryside, then moves on towards the city and culminates in a number of crowded, highly detailed urban scenes. To this pattern has been added the perfect placing of the Emperor at the end of a long day's journey, but still moments before his triumphant reception in one of China's most wonderful cities. The clever composition combined with the expert handling of the figure scenes makes the scroll read like a story that slowly unwinds, getting more interesting all the time.

Style is of little significance in the figure scenes, they are skilfully painted but rather standardized. The landscape portions, however, pose certain questions. The two large landscapes in the scroll, the *Jiulongshan* massif and the *Bantang* temple are executed in quite different styles. The former is in the orthodox school

version of the *Mi Fu-Gao Kegong* style, the latter in a *Song* like style. The scroll owned by the Metropolitan Museum again is quite different. In that scroll (as in scroll number seven) the low hills in the backgrounds are done with long, relaxed brushstrokes typical of the orthodox painting. A few distant mountains are reminiscent of the *Mi-Gao* style, but most of the closer mountainous scenery is painted with consistent use of axe-cut strokes and crystalline outlines for the rocks, much in the manner of *Li Tang* (95). The very small fragments of landscape painting available in published photographs from the Musée Guimet scrolls suggest that even more variation in style is to be found there.

On the basis of these differences it is tempting to assume that the *Nanxuntu* set of scrolls may have constituted a complete catalogue of accepted modes of expression, rather like some of the albums of the orthodox masters. *Wang Hui*, who is the most likely composer of the scrolls, may have chosen to demonstrate his versatility in a spectacular way by introducing all the styles he mastered in these huge and important scrolls. At least in the examples given there is quite a variety of styles, and in this fact lies a clue to the solution to two problems posed by the task of painting *Nanxuntu*. Evidently orthodox painters would not dream of departing from the established stylistic repertoire even when asked to portray landscapes with a large degree of realism. Instead they would choose a traditional style suitable for the subject matter — several styles in this unusual case where a large longitudinal section of the country was to be depicted. The axe-cut strokes and angular rocks in scroll number three are quite expressive of a cold February day in *Shandong*, the *Mi-Gao* style makes *Jiulongshan* seem a stern range in a milder climate, and the use of little brushwork under colourful washes in the *Bantang* scene is well suited to a low hill in southern China in the beginning of spring.

Secondly, the use of a variety of styles was a brilliant way of overcoming the problems involved in making a collective of artists produce a work of art. Having them conform to one stylistic standard would certainly have led to a mediocre result. On the contrary, stressing heterogeneity in a striking way was the perfect means of blurring the inevitable individual differences in style and ability and making them seem rather unimportant.

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Apart from being a good painting in its own right *Nanxuntu* has quite an important position in the specialized field of *Qing* documentary art. As there is no evidence of a painting depicting the 1684 tour, *Wang Hui's Nanxuntu* may be accepted as the first scroll on the subject and hence the precedent for several other works of art. Scrolls may well have been painted on the occasion of each of the *Kangxi* Emperor's four later travels. Possibly there is such a painting by *Song Junye*, and at least two scrolls with the signature of *Jiao Bingzhen* (96) (active ca. 1680–1720) bear the name of *Nanxuntu*. One of them in a Japanese collection has been illustrated in Kokka no. 687.⁷⁴) It shows the scenery around *Huqiu*, and it is

executed in a somewhat European-influenced manner that corresponds well with other works of *Jiao Bingzhen*. Unfortunately the accompanying text gives neither accurate information on the scroll nor the exact occasion for which it was painted. The other scroll is in the British Museum.⁷⁵) It is signed and dated November–December 1699, that is about six months after the *Kangxi* Emperor's third tour to the South. It is not a very good painting, and it is hard to believe that *Jiao Bingzhen* himself should have lent his name to it, let alone that it should have been presented at court a few years after the completion of *Wang Hui*'s scrolls. But even if it is a copy, it points to *Jiao Bingzhen* as the creator of a Southern Tour painting, and it provides a clue to the dating of such a work.

The *Qianlong* Emperor, trying to live up to his more illustrious predecessor, also undertook six Southern Journeys and had at least one set of *Nanxuntu* scrolls painted. This set by *Xu Yang* (97) (active in the second half of the 18th century) depicting the 1751 journey has been discussed by Walter Fuchs. In number of scrolls, measurements and subject matter the work seems to follow the *Kangxi* era model rather closely.⁷⁶) An offshoot of the Southern Tour paintings is the series of printed albums with Southern motifs that the *Qianlong* Emperor commissioned in connection with his travels to the South. Six such albums correspond to the travels, nine other albums deal with subjects related to the Southern Tours.⁷⁷) The prints were executed after painted originals, a fragment of one of these painted albums is now being preserved in the British Library.⁷⁸) The wood-block prints were incorporated into the *Nanxun Shengdian* (98), the extensive records of the *Qianlong* Emperor's first four Southern Tours published in 1771.

Wang Hui's *Nanxuntu* may also in an indirect way have provided inspiration for other categories of *Qing* period documentary painting such as the *Kangxi* Emperor's birthday scroll and the paintings of military campaigns or military training (ranging from the basic drill⁷⁹) to the exercise provided by the imperial hunt⁸⁰)). *Nanxuntu* did not establish the documentary genre, but might have contributed to its popularity.

The *Wanshou chang tu* composed by *Wang Yuanqi* in commemoration of the *Kangxi* Emperor's 60th birthday (1713) has quite a lot in common with the *Nanxuntu*.⁸¹) The theme of imperial triumph is the same, so is the procession motif, the composition showing the Emperor en route and the detailed description of urban life.

Some sort of connection between the Southern Journey picture and the category of military subjects is suggested by the fact that *Wang Hui* made two paintings celebrating the victorious *Galdan* campaign while he was still in *Beijing*.⁸²) As the northern expedition took place in 1696, the paintings must have been executed shortly before or after the completion of the *Nanxuntu* project, and though the paintings were privately commissioned, the idea of glorifying imperial achievement was no different from that behind the Southern Journey

project. *Wang Hui's Galdan* works may be among the earliest military pictures of the *Qing* era, and they were soon followed by others. His collaborator on one of the scrolls (*Beizheng hucong tu* (99)), *Yu Zhiding* (100) (1647–1705), proceeded to produce a work on the subject himself,⁸³) and in the later years of the reign at least one more military scroll was produced.⁸⁴) In turn the series of military paintings provided a tempting precedent for the *Qianlong* Emperor who, in this area too, far outdid his grandfather in quantity and variety, if not in quality.⁸⁵)

NOTES

¹⁾ Catalogue of the exhibition: Simon B. Heilesen: *Nanxuntu, Malerier af Kangxi Kejsereens Rejse i Sydkina i 1689. En Introduktion*. Copenhagen 1980. 16 pages. The cover is a colour illustration of the Emperor's arrival in Suzhou.

²⁾ Two recent studies in early Qing history deal thoroughly with the Southern Journeys of the Kangxi Emperor: 1) Jonathan D. Spence: *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master*. New Haven & London 1966. Chapter 4. 2) Silas H. L. Wu: *Passage to Power*. Cambridge, Mass. & London 1979. Chapter 8. For detailed descriptions and analyses of the Southern Journeys and references to Chinese sources these chapters should be consulted.

³⁾ Spence, Jonathan D.: *Ts'ao Yin*, p. 134–138. After the fourth Southern Journey in 1703 registration of missionaries was introduced.

⁴⁾ The most detailed survey of the journey is found in the *Da-Qing Shengzu Ren-Huangdi Shilu* (101), juan 139, p. 3B–33B and 140, p. 1–11A (Taiwan reprint 1964, p. 1868–1890). Much additional information is contained in the local histories. The route followed by the Kangxi Emperor in 1689 is rather similar to the one indicated in the maps of the Qianlong period book *Nanxun Shengdian* (98), juan 92–93 (1771, edition of 1882, reprint Taiwan 1966, p. 1558–1707). There are some variations at the northern and southern ends of the route and some minor differences in the order of visit to some of the locations on the route. Still, the maps are very useful in marking the relative placing of locations mentioned in the *Shilu*, but not always indicated on an ordinary map, and in giving the locations of the station palaces. An additional source is provided by the book *Nanxun Hucong Jilue* (102) (in *Zhaodai Congshu* (103), wu ji juan 7, edition of 1833). It is written by the Grand Secretary Zhang Ying (90), who gives a personal account of the hardships he suffered when travelling in the entourage. The book does not accurately record the Emperor's movements, only those of the Grand Secretary.

⁵⁾ *Shilu* juan 139, p. 4B.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.* p. 5B–6A.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.* p. 10A.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.* p. 10A–12B.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 13A.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.* p. 16A–17A.

¹¹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 17A.

¹²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 20A.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 20A–21A.

¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.* p. 24B–28A.

¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.* p. 28B–29A. P. 29A ff for the Nanjing stay.

¹⁶⁾ *Shilu* juan 140, p. 1B and 5A.

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.* p. 9A–9B.

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.* p. 10B.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 11A.

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.* p. 11A.

²¹⁾ *Wang Hui Hualu* (104). Taibei 1970. P. 4.

²²⁾ No reference has been found by checking *Shilu* Kangxi years 28–37, volumes 3–4.

²³⁾ In the Yang Jin biography both are mentioned (*Hai Yu Huayuan Lue* (105), p. 17. In: *Hua Shi Congshu* (106), volume 4. Shanghai 1963). Only Song Junye is mentioned in connection with Gu Fang (*Zhongguo Huajia Renming Da Cidian* (107). Taibei 1959. P. 740). Song later gave Yang Jin the extraordinary privilege of seeing the imperial art collections.

²⁴⁾ *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* (34) juan 11, p. 24 ff. (reprint Taiwan 1966, p. 2383–2390).

²⁵⁾ Fu Baoshi: *Zhongguo Meishu Nianbiao* (108). Hong Kong 1973. P. 110 and 112. *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* juan 56, p. 9–13 (p. 3460–62).

²⁶⁾ *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* juan 11, p. 29B (p. 2386). Song's father was Song Deyi (109), posthumously Wenke (110).

²⁷⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi* (111) juan 1, xunxing, shang p. 11. In: *Zhongguo Fangzhi Congshu* (112) (reprint Taipei 1970). For good quality maps and diagrams of famous places older editions should be consulted. For this study the 1820 edition has been used as a supplement.

²⁸⁾ *Guochao Huazhenglu* (113), p. 38. In: *Hua Shi Congshu*, volume 3. Biography in *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* juan 6, p. 16A ff (p. 2268 ff).

²⁹⁾ *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* juan 431, p. 28A (p. 12948).

³⁰⁾ *Guochao Huazhenglu*, p. 25–26. *Wang Hui Hualu*, p. 4.

³¹⁾ *Hai Yu Huayuan Lüe*, p. 17.

³²⁾ *Zhongguo Huajia Renming Da Cidian*, p. 740.

³³⁾ Hu Peiheng: *Wang Shigu* (114). Shanghai 1958. P. 19.

³⁴⁾ *Guochao Huazhenglu*, p. 67. Also in *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* juan 426, p. 48A (p. 12819).

³⁵⁾ Walter Fuchs: *Die Bilderalben für die Südreisen des Kaiser Kienlung in 18. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1976. P. 26–27.

³⁶⁾ *Qingchao Tongzhi* (38) (edition Shanghai 1935) juan 113, p. 7387.

³⁷⁾ *Shi Qu Bao Ji* (39) (reprint Taipei 1971) juan 6, p. 786.

³⁸⁾ Both Hu Peiheng: *Wang Shigu*, p. 19 and *Wang Hui Hualu*, p. 4 state that each scroll measured 70–80 feet. Neither of the books quotes a source. This length corresponds well with that of scroll number seven, but it is somewhat larger than scroll number two (1377 by 76,8 cm), number three (1393 by 67,8 cm) and four (1562 by 76,8 cm) (information provided by the Metropolitan Museum and Musée Guimet).

³⁹⁾ *Neiwubu Guwu Chenliesuo Shuhua Mulu* (40). Beijing 1925. Juan 5.

⁴⁰⁾ John C. Ferguson: *Lidai Zhulu Huamu* (115) (1938, reprint Taipei 1971). P. 63B–68A).

⁴¹⁾ *Ouboluoshi Shuhua Guomu Kao* (41), p. 73. In: *Meishu Congshu* (116) (Taiwan reprint of 1947 edition) volume 25. The text refers to a Nanxun Shengdian tu (117) painted by Wang Hui on imperial command, but gives no details. Although the title differs, the reference must be to the Nanxuntu.

⁴²⁾ Chen Jinling: *Qingdai Zhuoyue Huajia Wang Shigu* (126). *Meishuyuekan* (118) 1980, no. 8, p. 39. Very poor reproductions have appeared in Hu Peiheng: *Wang Shigu*, plates 17–19, and in Teng Shao-chi: *Tsao Hsueh-chin and his "Dream of the Red Chamber"*. *China Reconstructs* 1963, no. 12, p. 31.

⁴³⁾ Michèle t'Serstevens: *Un rouleau Chinois. La Revue du Louvre*, no. 12, 1962, no. 1, p. 41–43. Additional reproductions may be found in Otto Zierer: *History of China*. London, New York, Sidney & Toronto 1978. Cover and p. 69, 72–74.

⁴⁴⁾ Topographical information is drawn only from photocopies of the introductory colophons of scrolls two and four.

⁴⁵⁾ Robert E. Bright: *Sur les Pas de l'Empereur K'ang Hi. Connaissance des Arts*, September 1979, p. 70–73. Additional information from photographs of the scroll kindly provided by Alfreda Murck of the Metropolitan Museum.

⁴⁶⁾ I wish to thank Hanne Marcussen, M.A.A. for the measurements of the box and scroll.

⁴⁷⁾ First 80 cm of light-blue silk, followed by 19 cm of white silk, 80 cm of white paper, 19 cm of white silk, the 67,5 cm of the colophon, and finally a strip of white silk 19 cm wide.

⁴⁸⁾ At the time of purchase this part of the scroll had been exposed in a shop window for considerable time.

⁴⁹⁾ The sources disagree as to the name of the imperial stopping place. *Shilu* (juan 139, p. 15B) mentions Fangshengchi as the location where the Emperor moored for the night. However, both Zhang Ying: *Nanxun*, p. 6B and the *Wuxi-Jinguijian Zhi* (119) (*Zhongguo Fangzhi Congshu*, reprint Taipei 1970) juan 2, shanshui, p. 12B–13A indicate that the temple island of Huangbudun served as imperial quarters. Zhang Ying even describes the festively decorated place with lamps shining in the night welcoming the Emperor. The two locations are very near each other (map in *Nanxun Shengdian* juan 92, p. 1628–1629).

⁵⁰⁾ Zhang Ying: *Nanxun*, p. 6B.

⁵¹⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi* juan 1, xunxing, shang p. 9B.

⁵²⁾ Description of the excursion *ibid.* p. 9B–11A.

⁵³⁾ On March 10 the Emperor returned on his way north, this time staying longer while catching up with official business. Also the description of the second stay in Suzhou (*Suzhoufu Zhi*, xunxing, shang p. 11 ff) gives

interesting insights into the Emperor's personality. Thus, at a banquet he lectured in Confucian tones on frugality and respect for the elderly. And also, in the description of the visit to the Sheng'en (120) temple a fragment of the Emperor's own colloquial speech has been preserved in the record of his conversation with an old monk.

⁵⁴⁾ Buddhist establishments of this kind for setting animals free are quite common, and no reference to this particular pond has been found. Inquiries made for me in Wuxi by Alette Scavenius indicate that the location of the temple is unknown to-day. Some idea of its location relative to the town of Wuxi may be gained from the map in *Nanxun Shengdian* juan 92 p. 37A (p. 1629). Here it may also be seen that the artists working on the scroll mistakenly have placed Fangshengchi before rather than after Huangbudun (p. 36B–37A).

⁵⁵⁾ The characters given on the painting are Huangpudun (60). However, in the context of the painting the location must be understood to be Huangbudun (59). See also note 49.

⁵⁶⁾ For a modern large-scale map of the area see: Army Map Service Map L581, sheet 9.

⁵⁷⁾ Zhang Ying: *Nanxun*, 6B–7A.

⁵⁸⁾ *Wuxi-Jingxian Zhi* juan 13, si guan, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.* juan 2, shanshui, p. 1–2, for detailed topographical description.

⁶⁰⁾ Wangting played a part in the history of the fourth century A.D. Then known as Yuting (121) it was fortified under the Su Jun (122) uprising of 328 (*Zhongguo Gu-Jin Diming Da Cidian* (123). 1933, reprint Taipei 1967. P. 811).

⁶¹⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi* juan 22, gongshu, p. 43B–44A. The whole area described in the scroll (including Suzhou) was plundered by government troops retreating before the Taipings. Jen Yu-wen: *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*. New Haven & London 1973. P. 381.

⁶²⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi*, maps of Changzhou and Yuanhe (124).

⁶³⁾ According to the logic of the scroll the Emperor should have passed Hushuguan earlier, and the time of day should be well-advanced. According to strict vinaya the monks should go begging in the morning. This fact, however, need not contradict the interpretation of the scroll as monastic rules in China were somewhat relaxed, permitting an evening meal (A.C. Banerjee: *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*. Calcutta 1977. P. 58 ff).

⁶⁴⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi* map of Wuxian.

⁶⁵⁾ Description *ibid.* juan 35, guji, p. 26A. See also map of Wuxian.

⁶⁶⁾ Wu, Silas H.L.: *Passage*, p. 87–88.

⁶⁷⁾ *Suzhoufu Zhi* juan 8, shui, p. 19B.

⁶⁸⁾ The names Shanmen and Hanhanquan are not in the painting, but the locations can be determined by the description of the temple in *Suzhoufu Zhi* juan 7, shan 2, p. 4 ff. The 1820 edition further includes a fine woodcut illustration of the temple.

⁶⁹⁾ Zhang Ying: *Nanxun*. See also note 4.

⁷⁰⁾ For this and other details of Suzhou's topography see: Map of Suzhoufu Chengtu in *Suzhoufu Zhi* (1820 edition).

⁷¹⁾ *Ibid.* juan 22, gongshu, p. 41B ff.

⁷²⁾ *Nanxun Shengdian* juan 99, p. 1B–2A (reprint p. 1866–1867). A far more handsome version of the same diagram is reproduced in Fuchs, Walter: *Bilderalben*, plate 12. The handscroll apparently depicts only the far right section of the vast compound.

⁷³⁾ The Qingming scroll is fully illustrated and discussed in Roderick Whitfield: *Chang Tse-tuan's Ch'ing-ming Shang-ho Tu*. Princeton 1965.

⁷⁴⁾ Kokka no. 687, 1949. Text p. 154. The scroll measures 58.2 by 517 cm.

⁷⁵⁾ No. 1919-12-16-01. The scroll in 48.4 by 748 cm. It is catalogued as a copy after Jiao Bingzhen. I wish to thank Dr. Roderick Whitfield for drawing my attention to this painting.

⁷⁶⁾ Fuchs, Walter: *Bilderalben*, p. 23–24.

⁷⁷⁾ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁷⁸⁾ British Library, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, OR 12895. This album of 23 leaves is signed by the vice-minister of justice Qian Weicheng (125) (1720–1772). Fuchs, Walter: *Bilderalben*, p. 15 note 31A has discussed the album and proved that at least the signature is not genuine.

⁷⁹⁾ Paintings of this nature are illustrated in: Li Guoliang: *Qingchu de Xi Wu. Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* (128) 1980 no. 2, p. 3 ff.

⁸⁰⁾ An example of this kind of painting is discussed in: Hou Ching-lang et Michèle Pirazzoli: *Les Chasses d'Automne de l'Empereur Qianlong à Mulan. T'oung Pao* vol. LXV, 1-3, p. 13 ff (1979).

⁸¹⁾ For illustration see: Reproduction of the scroll in the woodcut illustrations to the *Wanshou Shengdian Chuji* (130) (1716-1717) juan 41-42.

⁸²⁾ Chen Jinling: *Qingdai Zhuoyue Huajia*, p. 39.

⁸³⁾ Wang Hongjun & Liu Ruzhong: *Qingdai Pingding Zhungaer Guizu Panluan Lishihua Juan* (127). *Wenwu* 1976 no. 12, p. 68.

⁸⁴⁾ *Ibid.* p. 70.

⁸⁵⁾ The quality of documentary courtpainting steadily declined during the 18th Century. Hou Ching-lang et Michèle Pirazzoli: *Les Chasses*, p. 42-43.

(1) 王翬 (2) 南巡圖 (3) 康熙 (4) 吳三桂 (5) 明太祖
 (6) 德州 (7) 泰山 (8) 鄒城 (9) 宿遷 (10) 清河
 (11) 蘇州 (12) 杭州 (13) 紹興 (14) 禹 (15) 丹陽 (16) 南京
 (17) 句容 (18) 揚州 (19) 濟寧 (20) 臨清 (21) 故成縣
 (22) 天津 (23) 北京 (24) 實錄 (25) 楊晉 (26) 顧昉
 (27) 宋駿業 (28) 王棧 (29) 翰林 (30) 王時敏 (31) 進士
 (32) 王原祁 (33) 萬壽長圖 (34) 國朝耆獻類徵初篇
 (35) 山水清暉 (36) 清暉主人 (37) 上官周 (38) 清朝通志
 (39) 石渠寶笈 (40) 內務部古物陳列所書畫目錄
 (41) 甌鉢羅室書畫過目攷 (42) 康熙爺 (43) 雍正 (44) 乾隆
 (45) 蒙陰 (46) 南巡圖第七卷 (47) 康熙二十八年己巳二月
 (48) 天府珍藏 (49) 拖紙 (50) 包首 (51) 南巡圖第七卷自無錫縣駐蹕蘇州府
 (52) 虎邱 (53) 無錫 (54) 濟墅關 (55) 閶門 (56) 堯 (57) 海子口 (58) 常州
 (59) 黃埠墩 (60) 黃婆墩 (61) 秦園 (62) 織造府
 (63) 山塘 (64) 大雄 (65) 放生池 (66) 九龍山 (67) 惠山
 (68) 惠山寺 (69) 錫山 (70) 米芾—高克恭 (71) 審頭
 (72) 新安 (73) 望亭 (74) 長州 (75) 文昌閣 (76) 射瀆
 (77) 楓橋 (78) 寒山寺 (79) 半塘 (80) 關帝 (81) 長蕩
 (82) 甚酌 (83) 山門 (84) 愁愁泉 (85) 千人石 (86) 劍池
 (87) 點頭石 (88) 古鶴 (89) 萬壽 (90) 張英 (91) 畢 (92) 黃鸝坊
 (93) 圓妙觀彌羅間 (94) 清明上河圖 (95) 李唐
 (96) 焦秉貞 (97) 徐揚 (98) 南巡盛典 (99) 北征扈

從圖 (100) 禹之鼎 (101) 大清聖祖仁皇帝實錄 (102) 南
 巡扈從紀畧 (103) 昭代叢書 (104) 王翬畫錄 (105) 海虞
 畫苑略 (106) 畫史叢書 (107) 中國畫家人名大辭典
 (108) 傅抱石：中國美術年表 (109) 宋德宜 (110) 文恪
 (111) 蘇州府志 (112) 中國方志叢書 (113) 國朝畫徵錄
 (114) 胡佩衡：王石谷 (115) 歷代著錄畫目 (116) 美術叢
 書 (117) 南巡聖典圖 (118) 美術月刊 (119) 無錫金匱縣
 志 (120) 聖恩 (121) 御亭 (122) 蘇峻 (123) 中國古今地名
 大辭典 (124) 元和 (125) 錢維城 (126) 陳金陵：清代卓
 越畫家王石谷 (127) 王宏鈞，劉如仲：清代平定准
 噶爾貴族叛亂的歷史畫卷 (128) 李國梁：清初的習
 武，故宮博物院院刊 (129) 濟南 (130) 萬壽盛典初集

PLATES

第七卷敬圖

皇上自無錫縣經許墅關

駕莅蘇州之閭門見人民繁廛街衢湫隘

特簡儀從入城縉紳士庶以及白叟黃童無不感

沐

深恩歡欣鼓舞焚香結綵夾道跽迎雖幸往來

駐蹕得觀

堯天而愛戴之誠倍深踴躍懇留

法從至再至三一時擎漿獻果呼嵩頌德之情繪

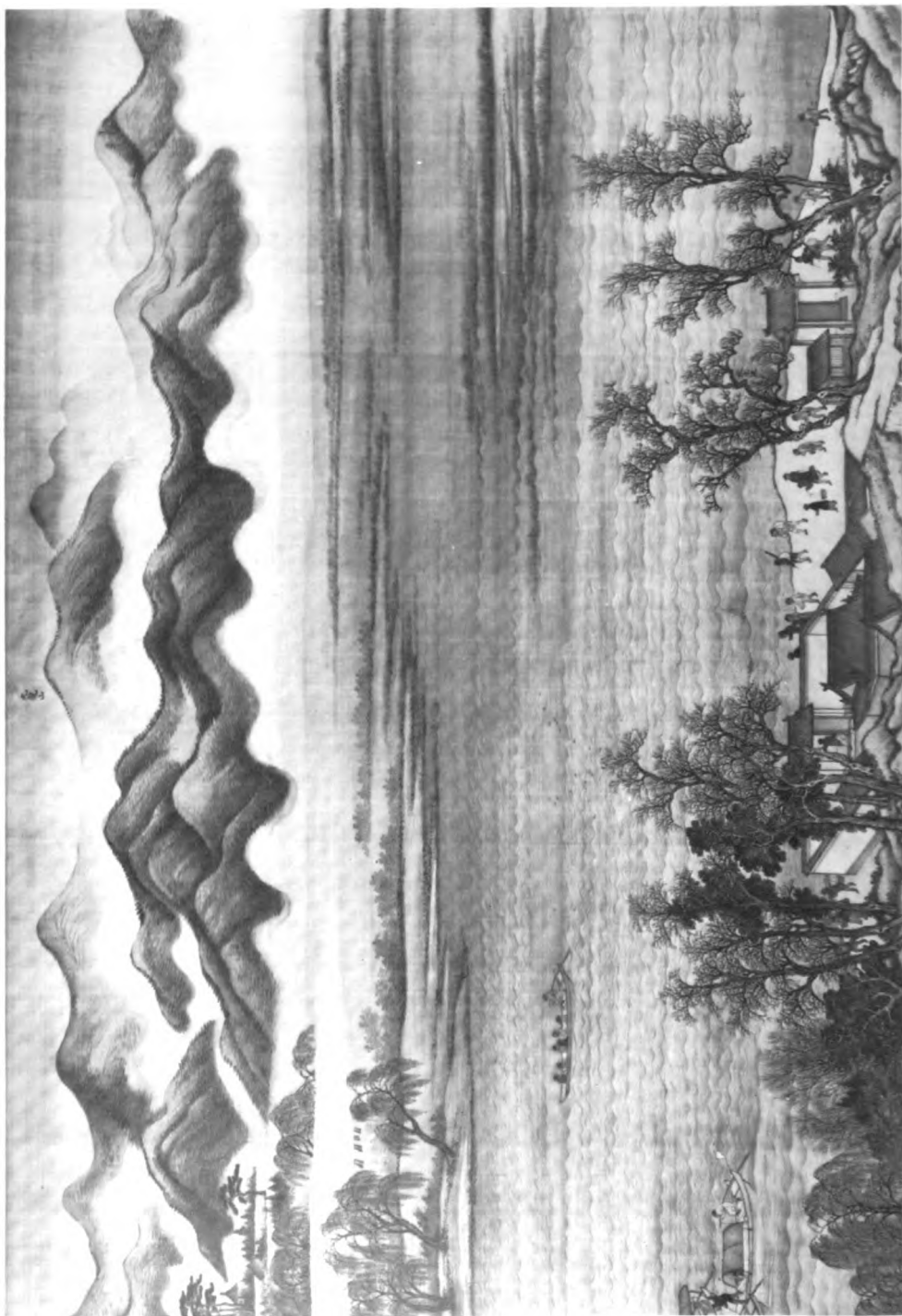
圖難盡此皆我

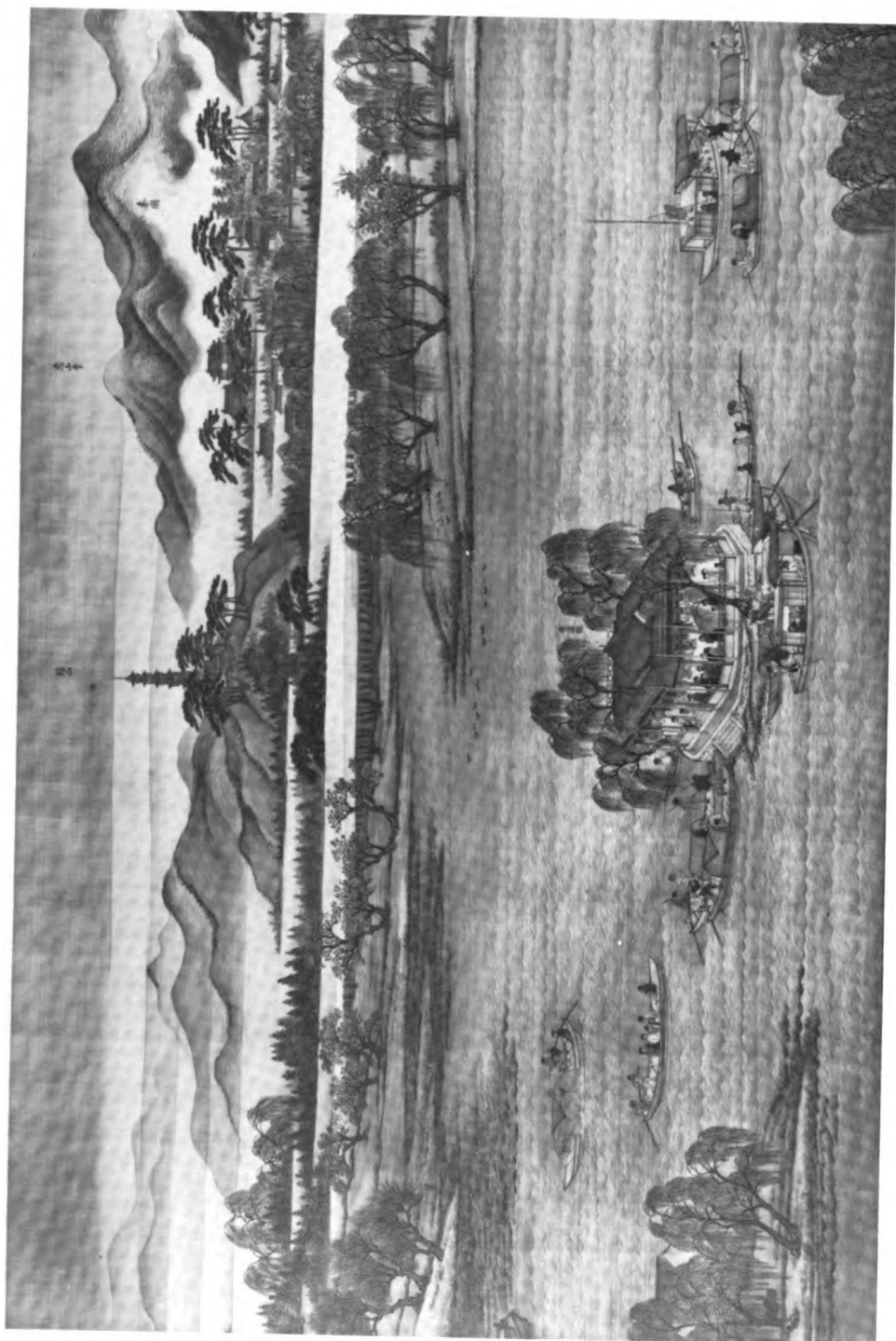
皇上軫念吳民蠲賦除租有加無已浹洽於人心

所致也若夫虎丘一阜萬姓建亭紀盛恭祝

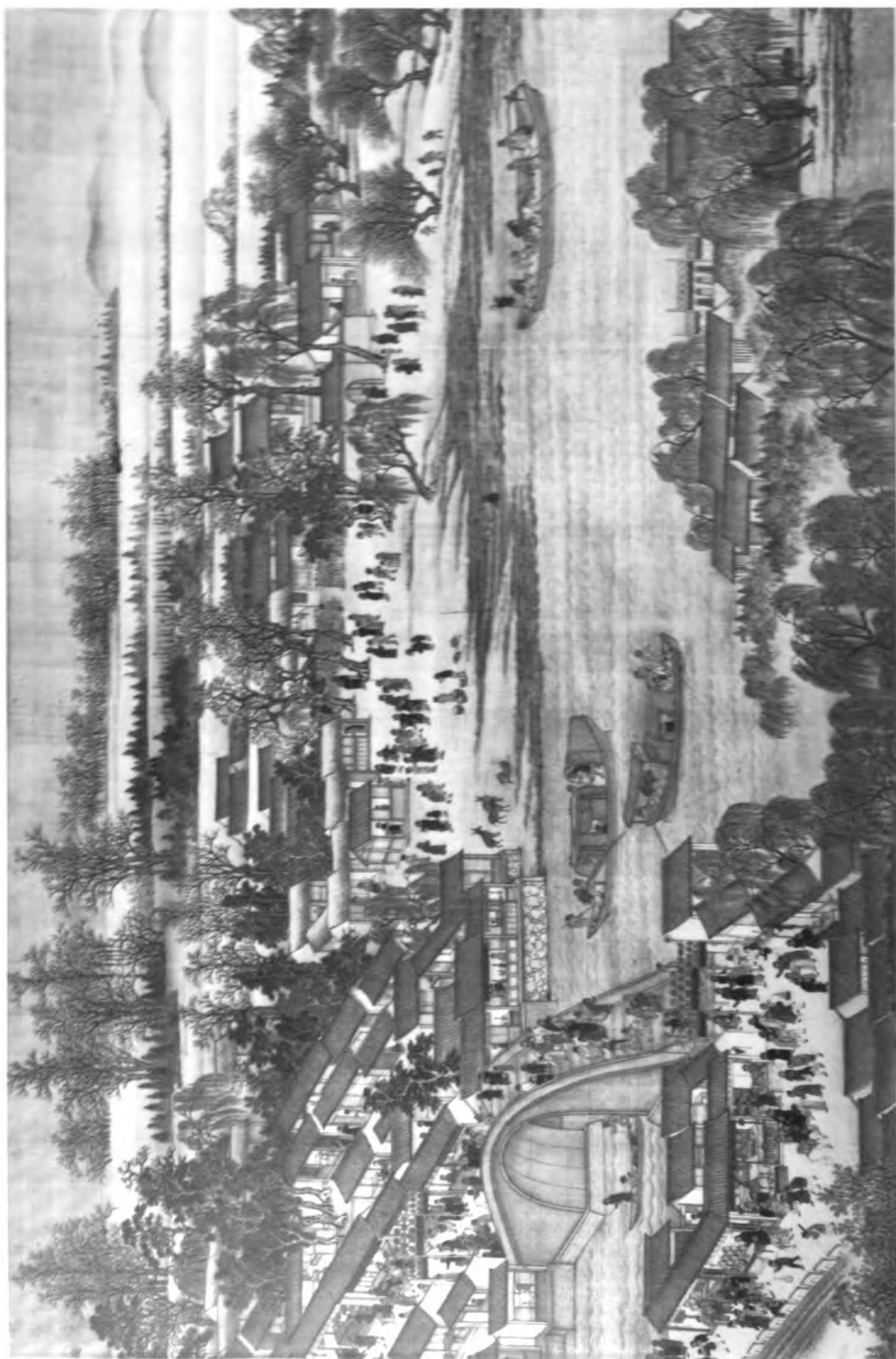
萬壽並施之毫素云

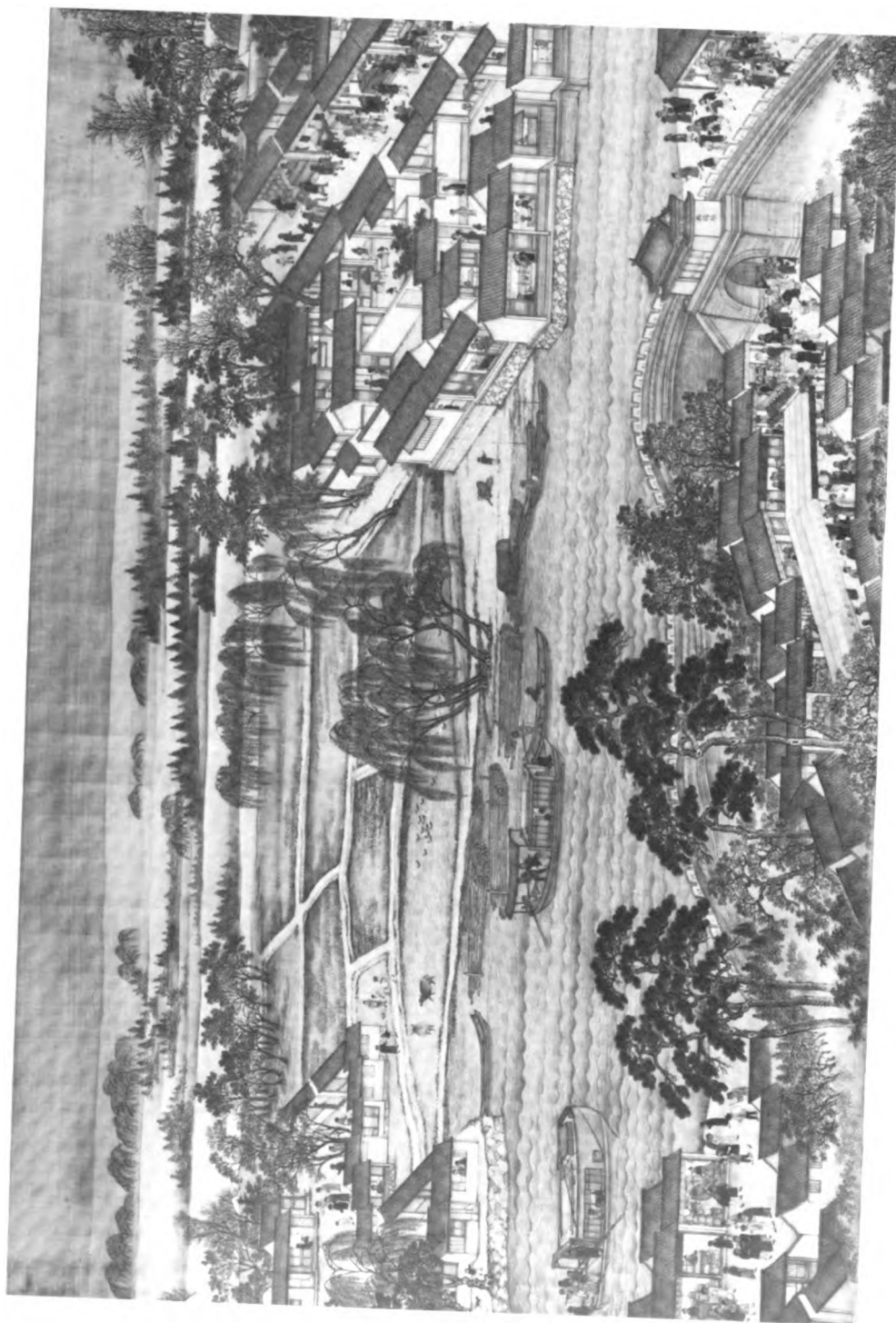
Pl. 2

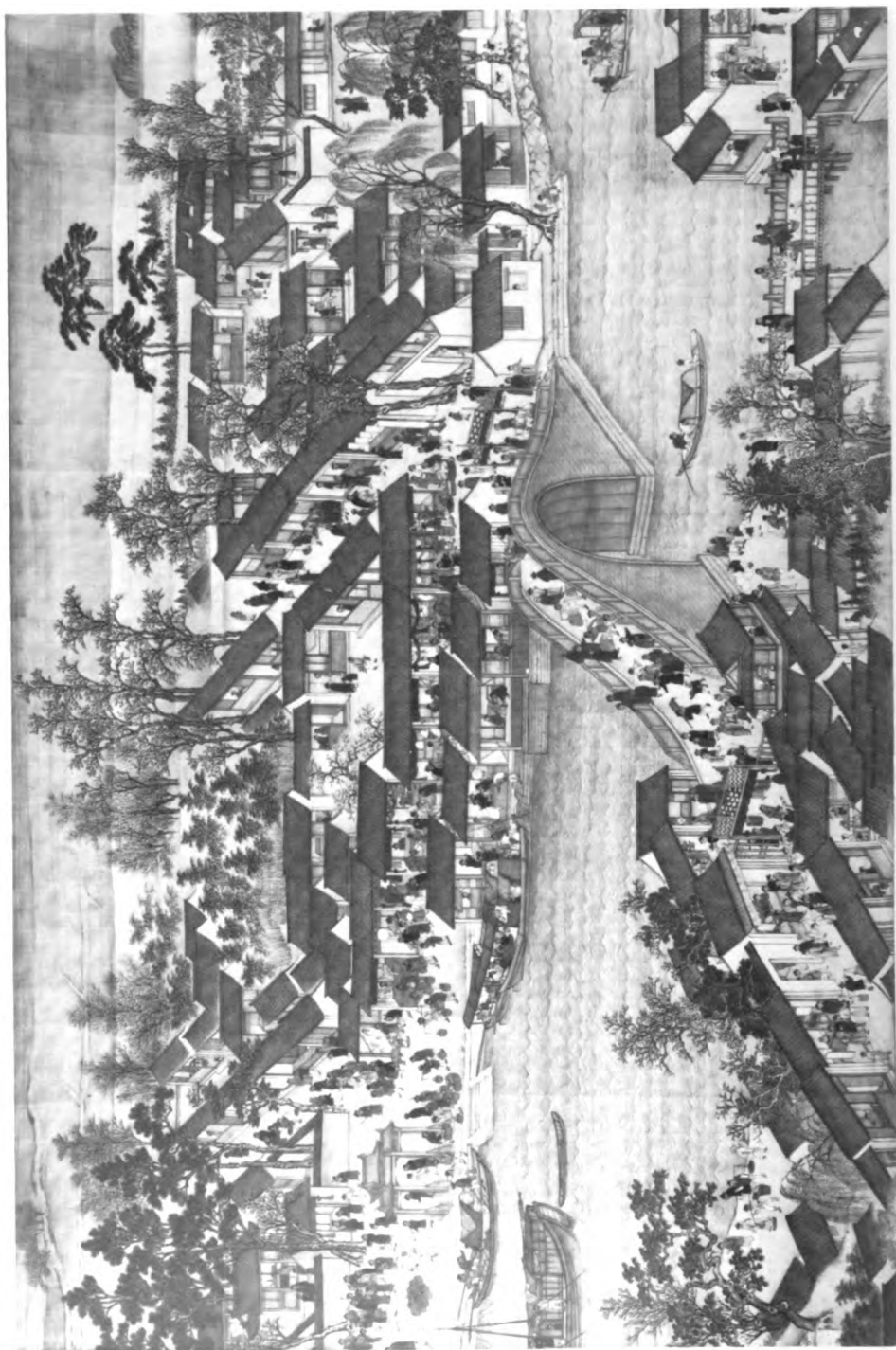


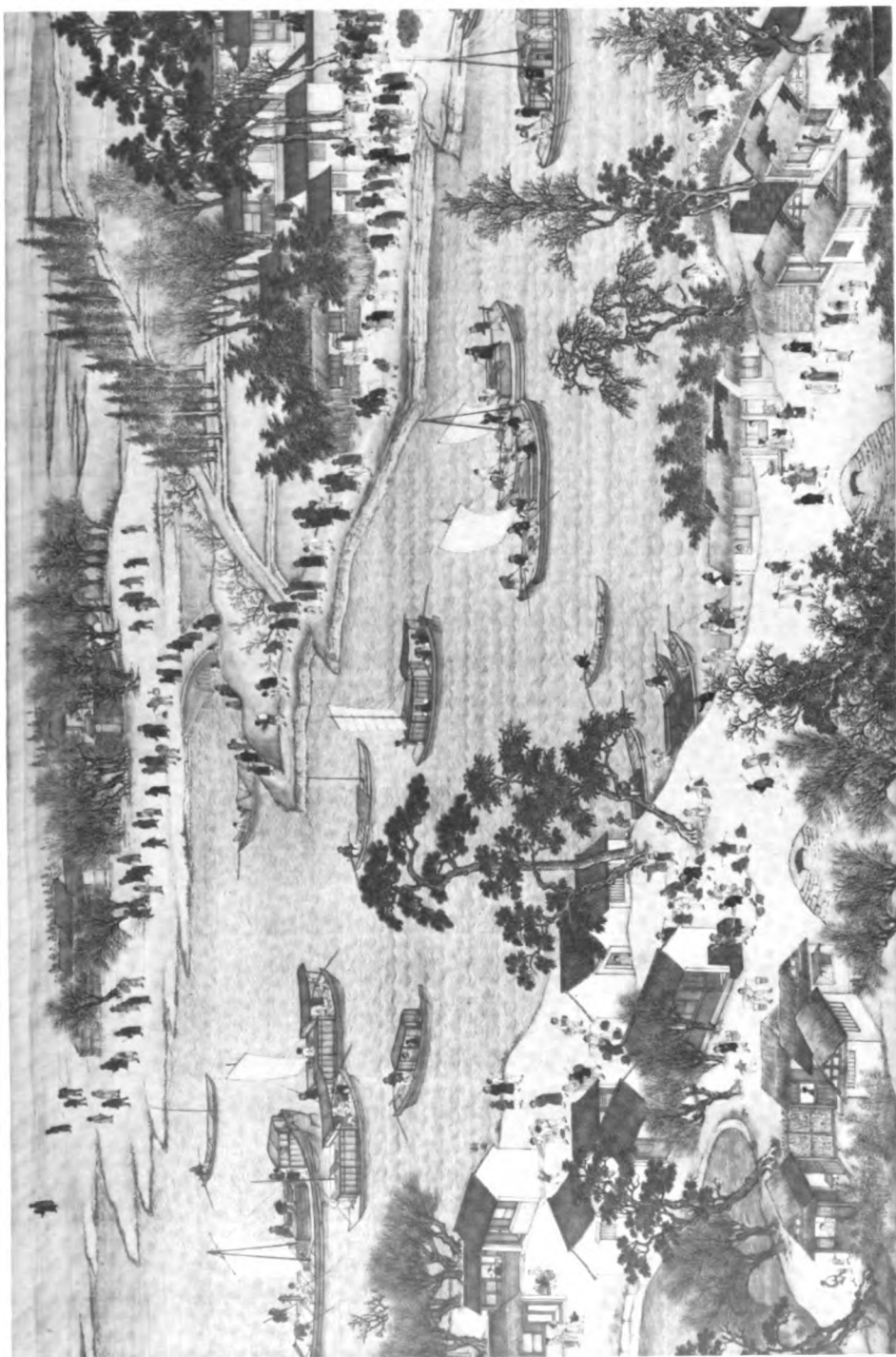


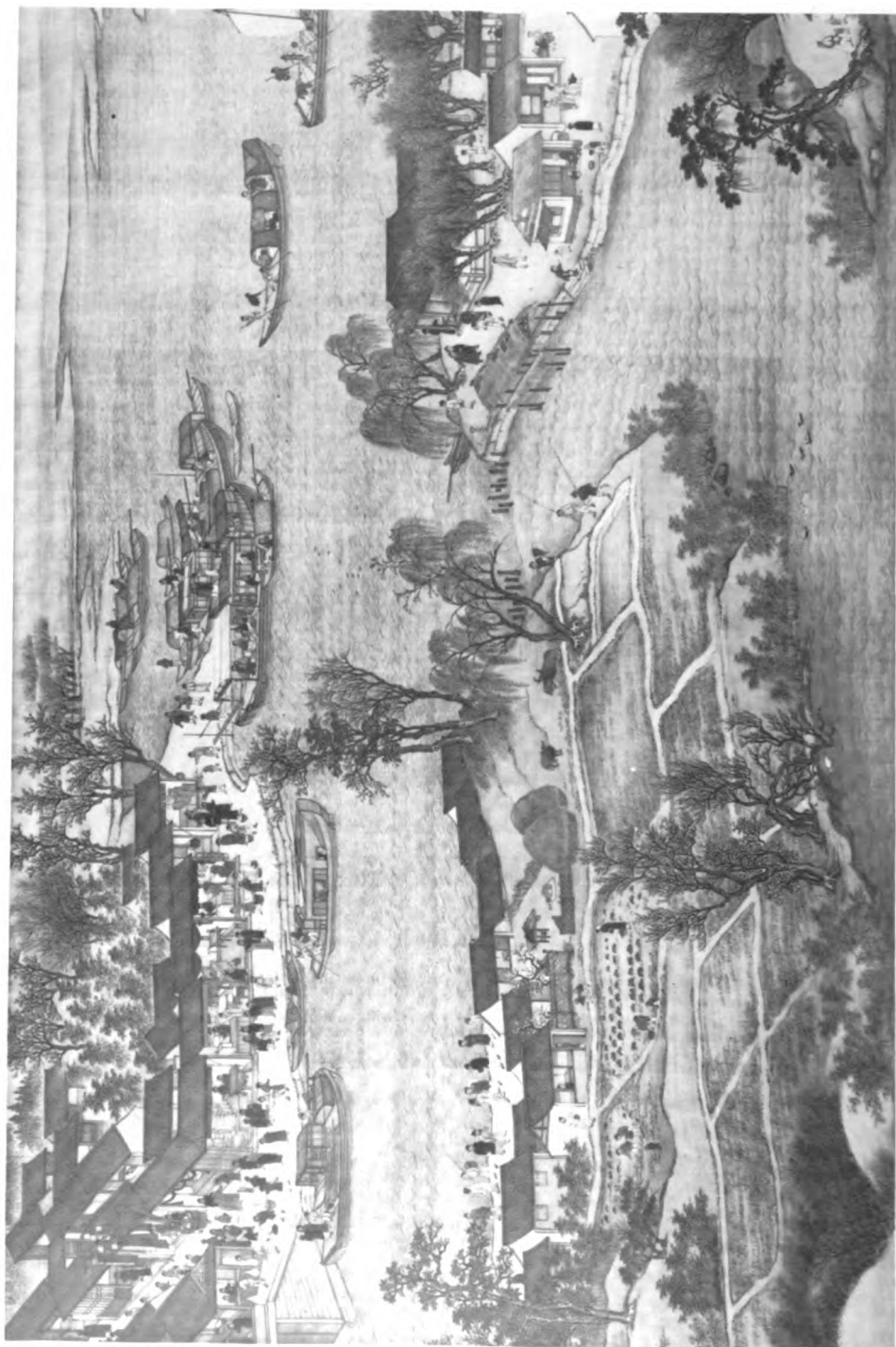
Pl. 4

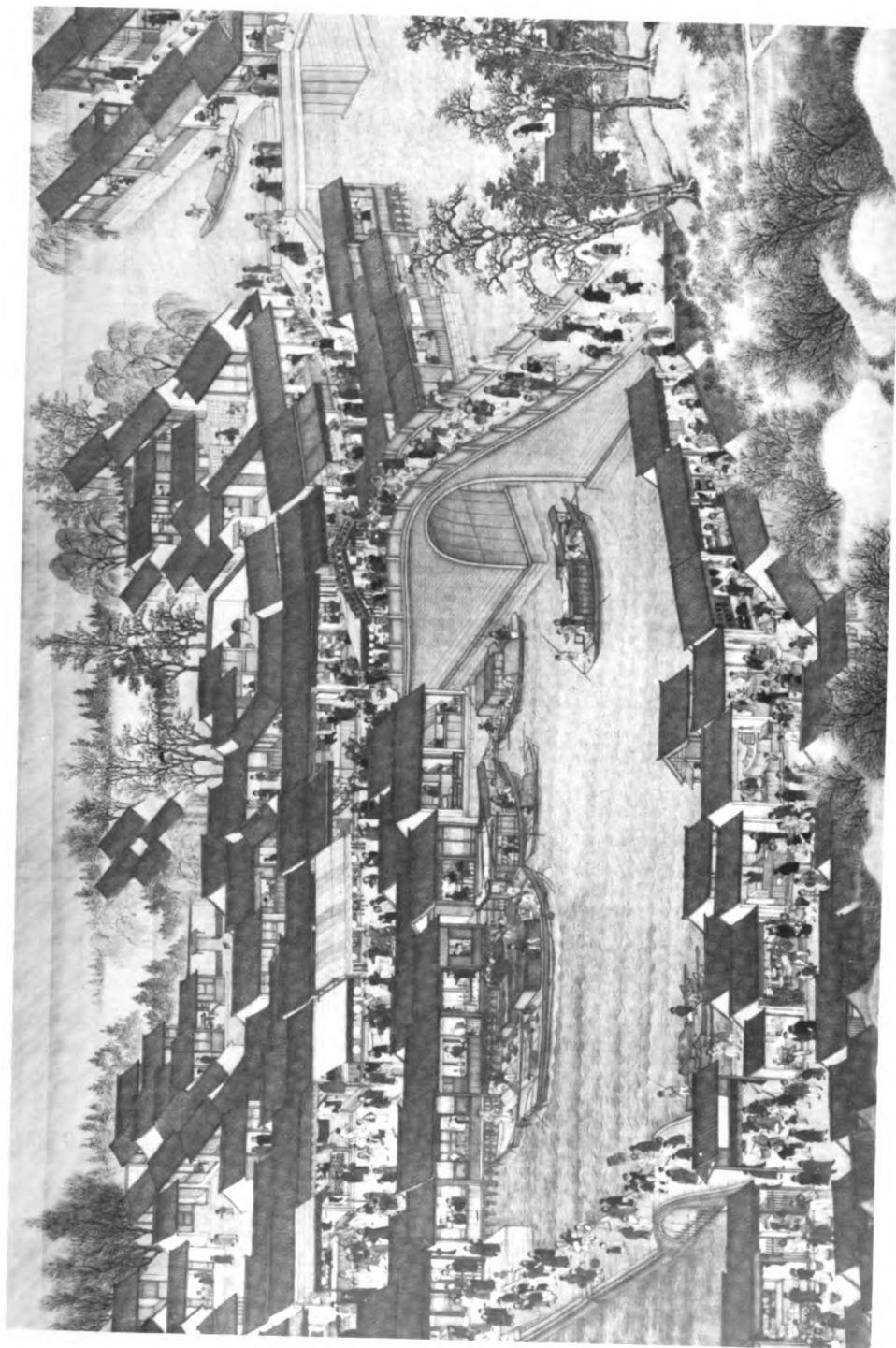


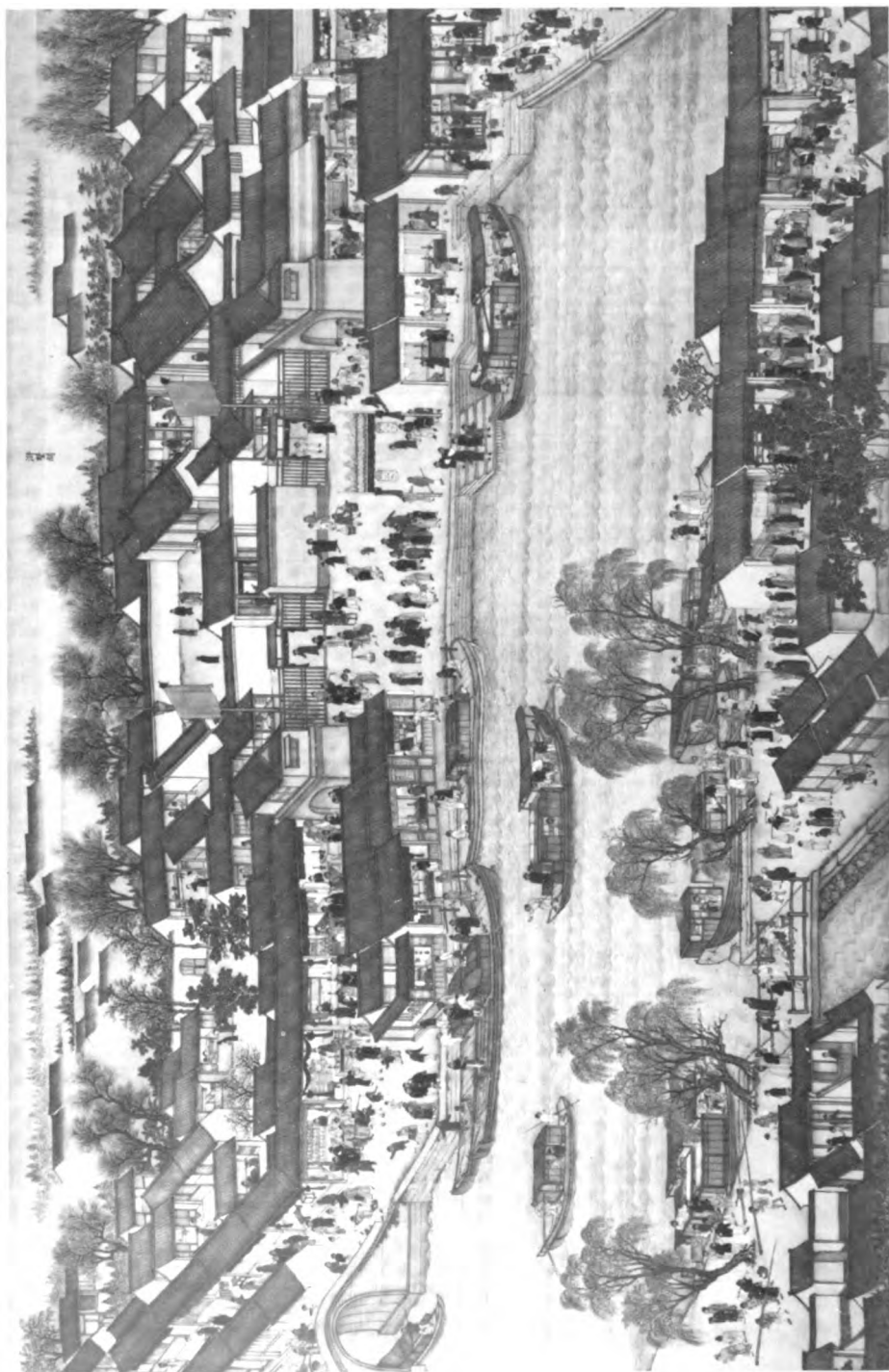


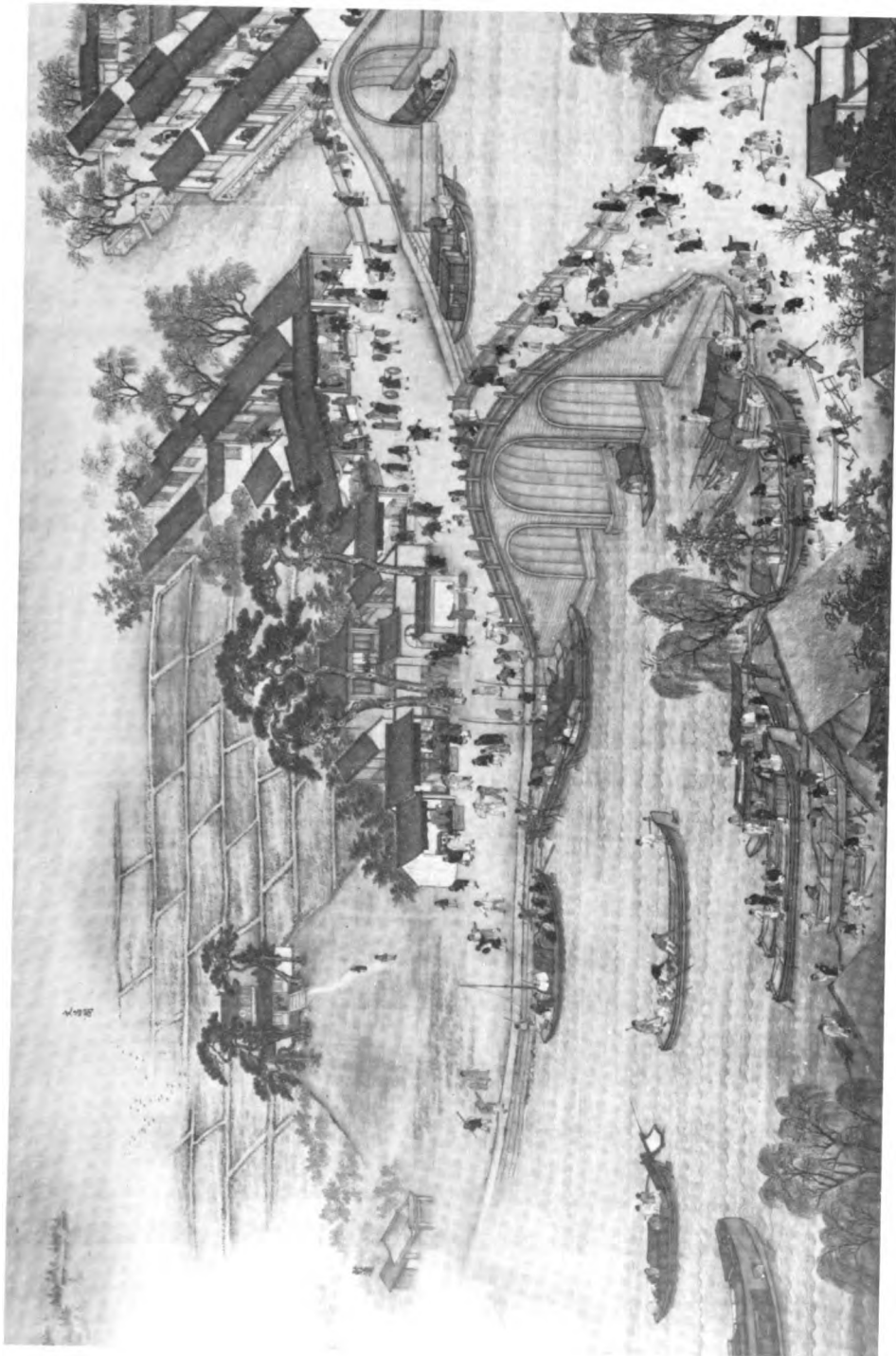




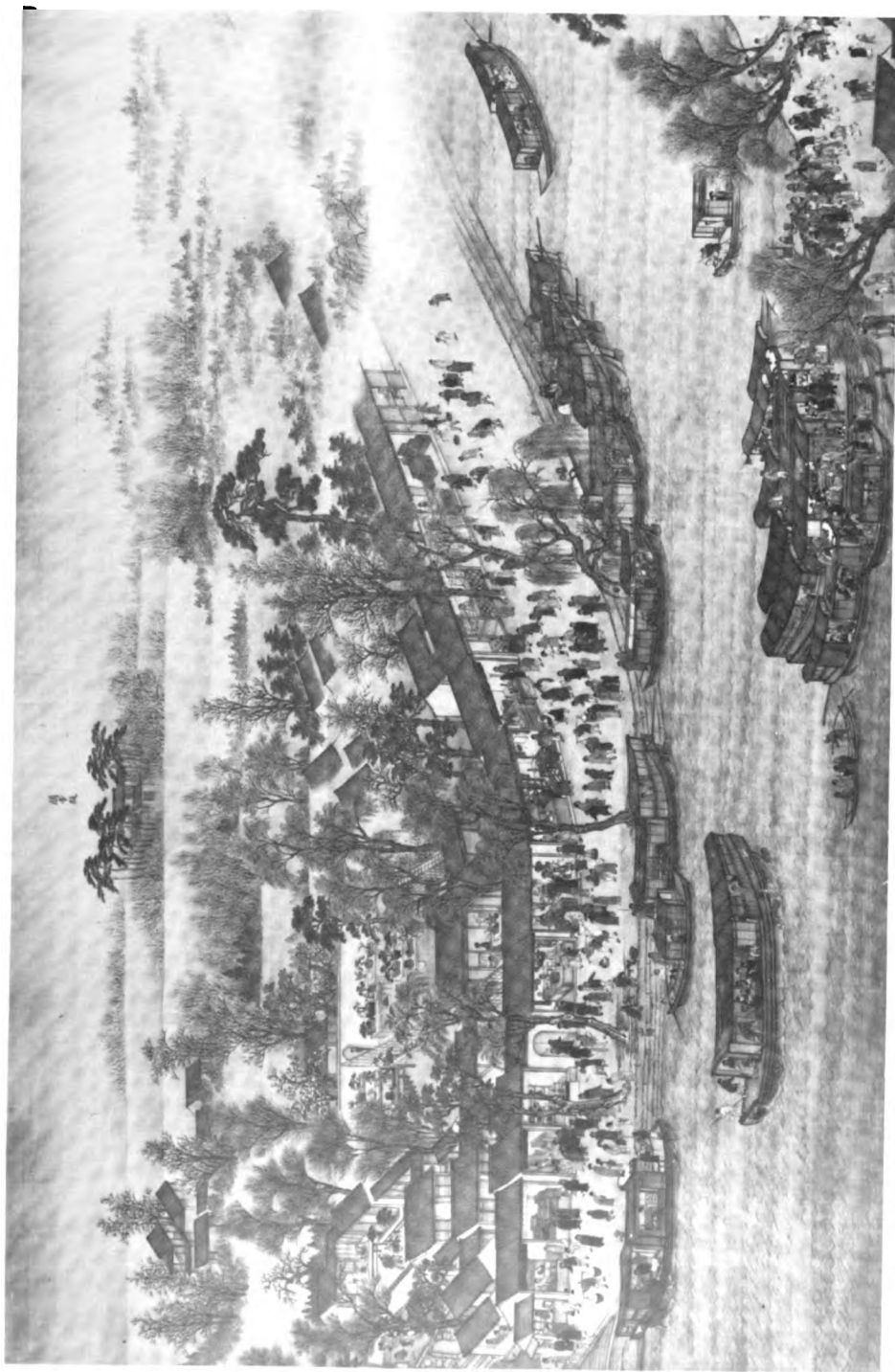


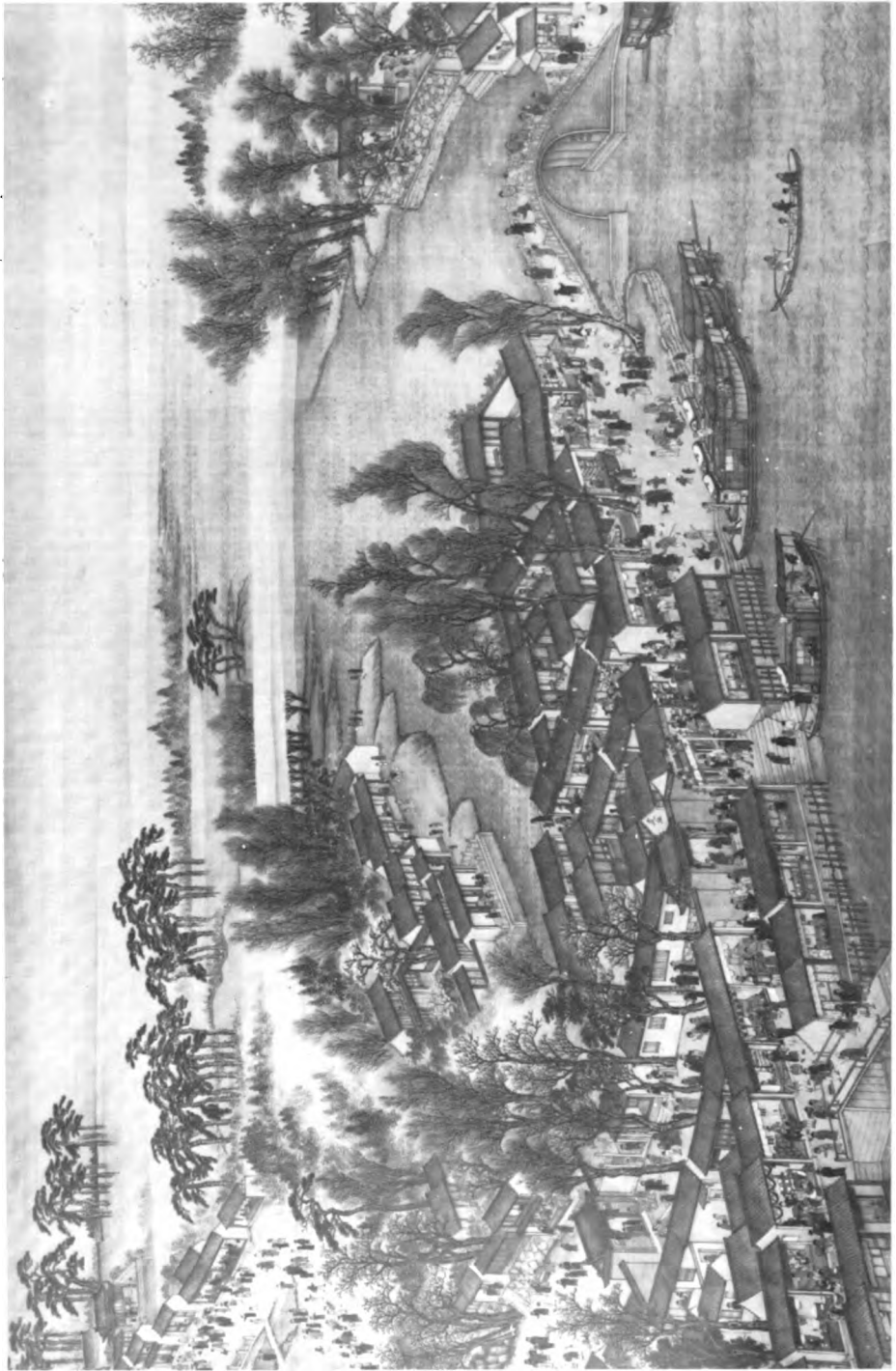




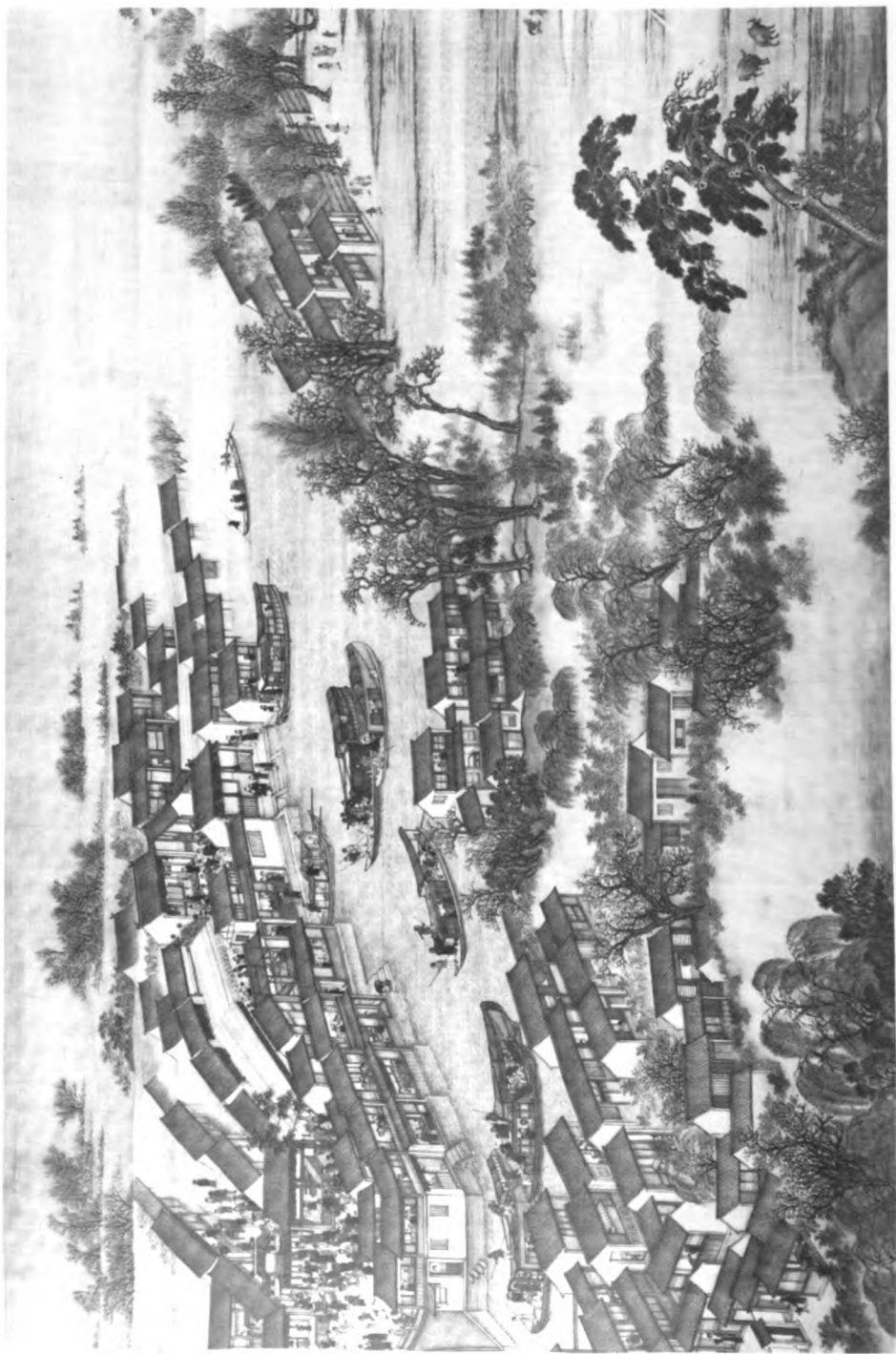


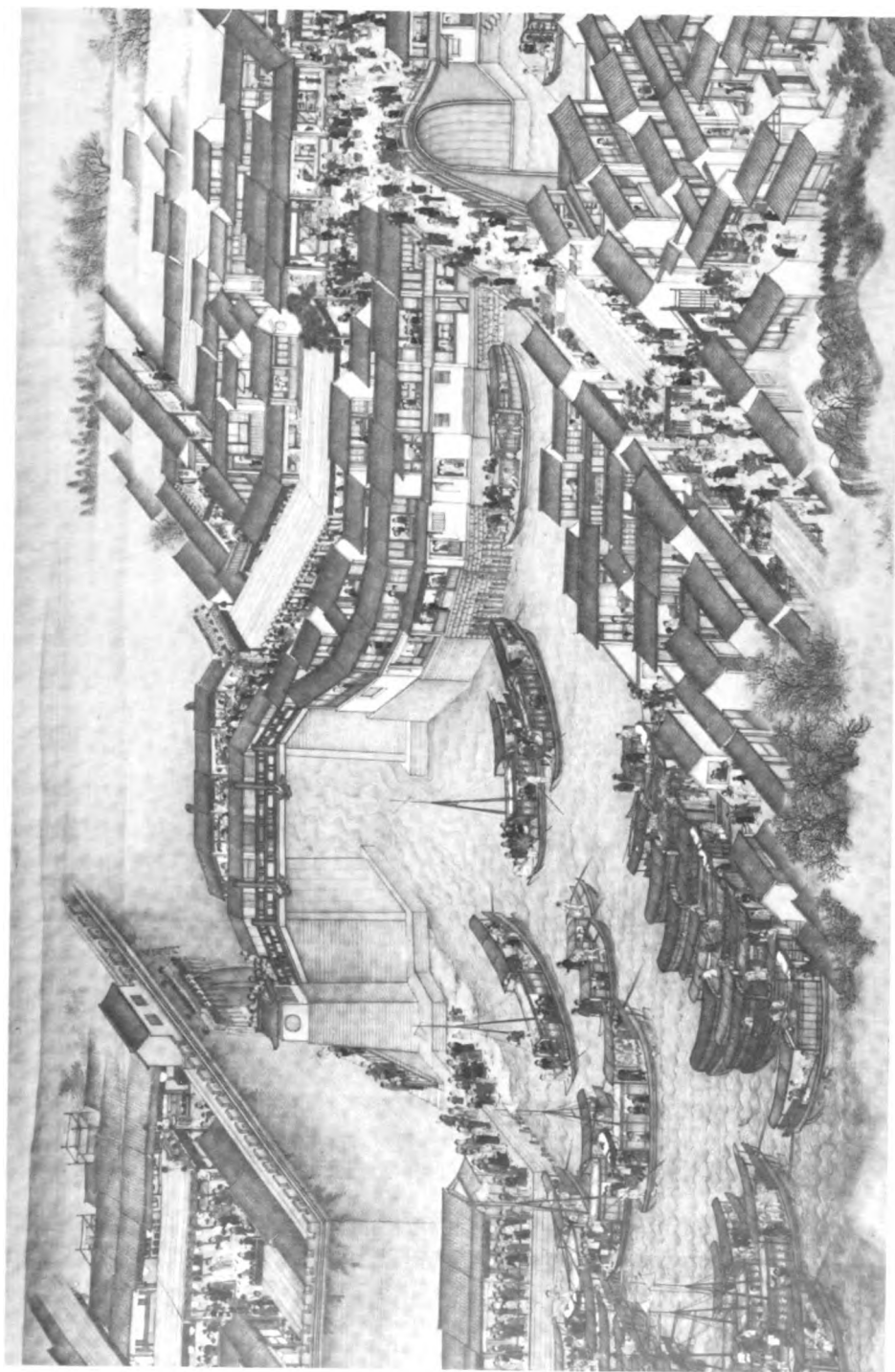


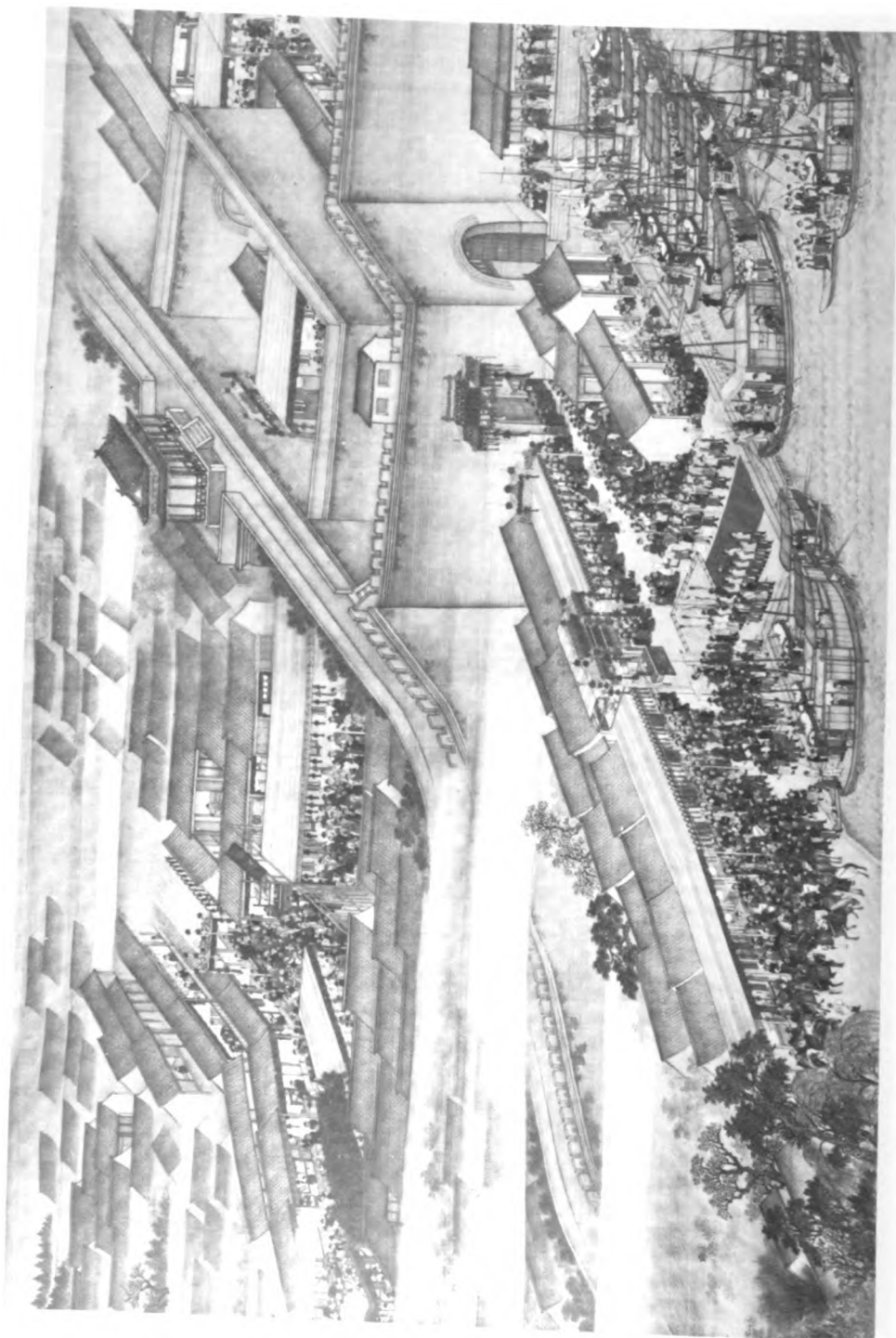


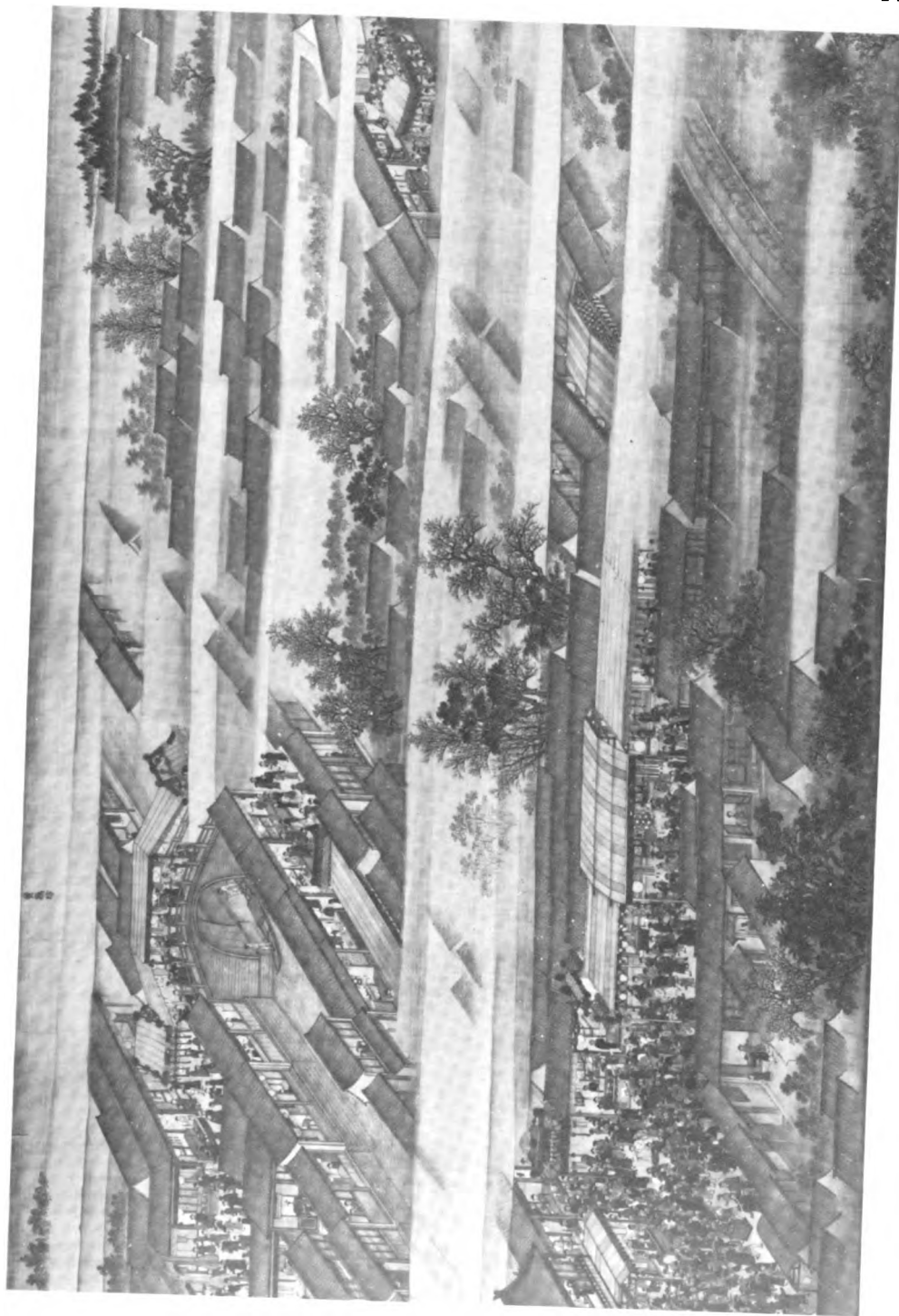


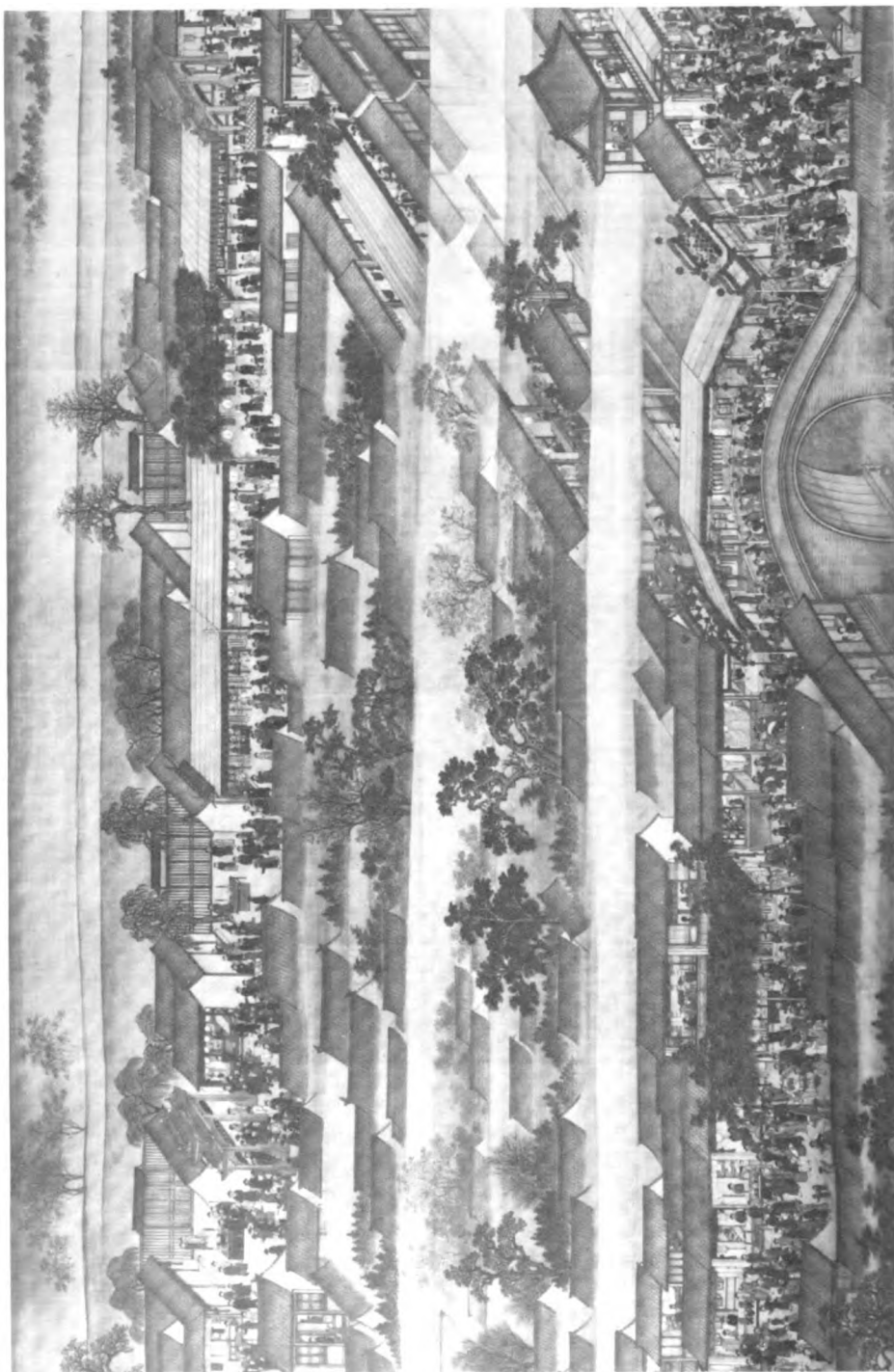


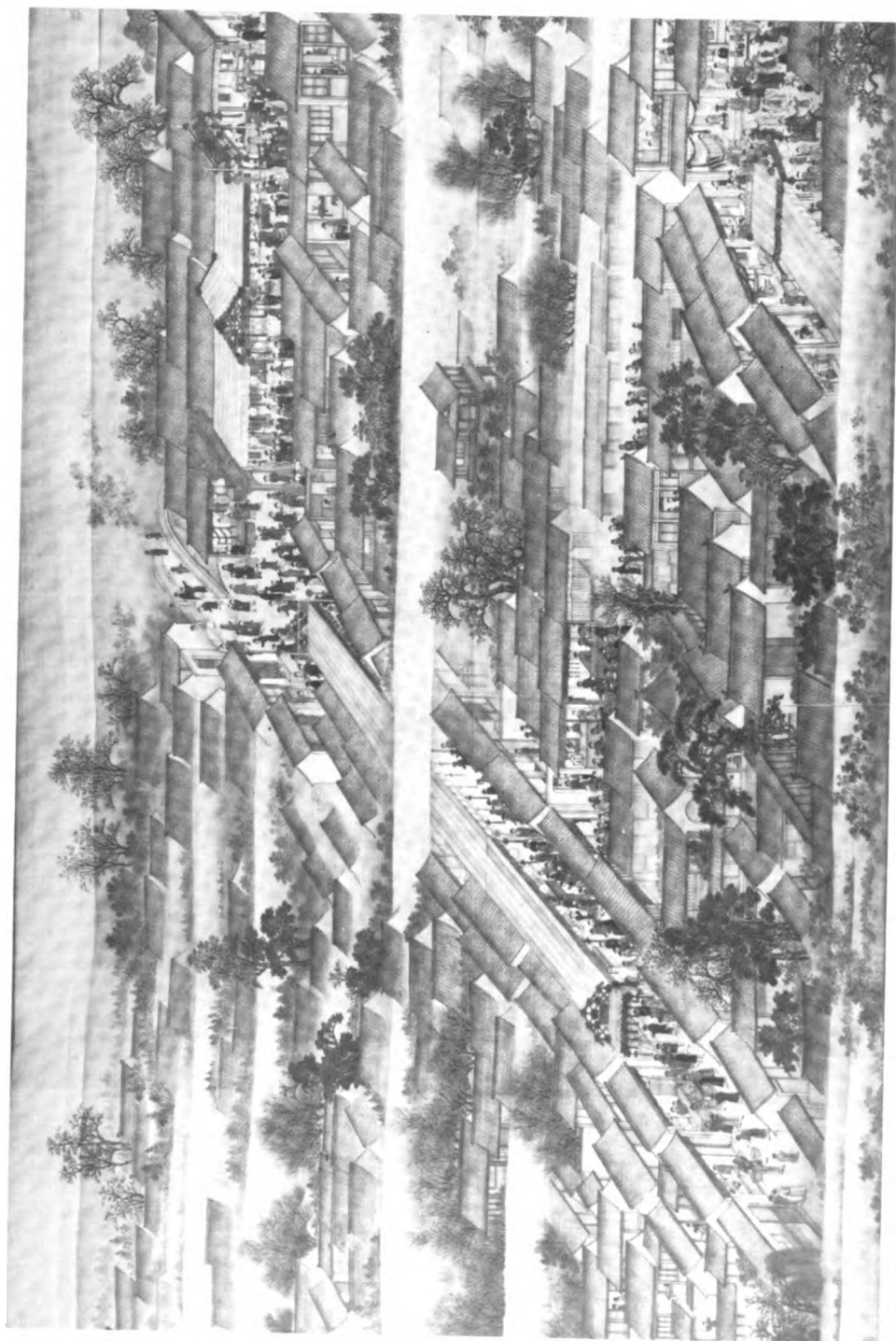


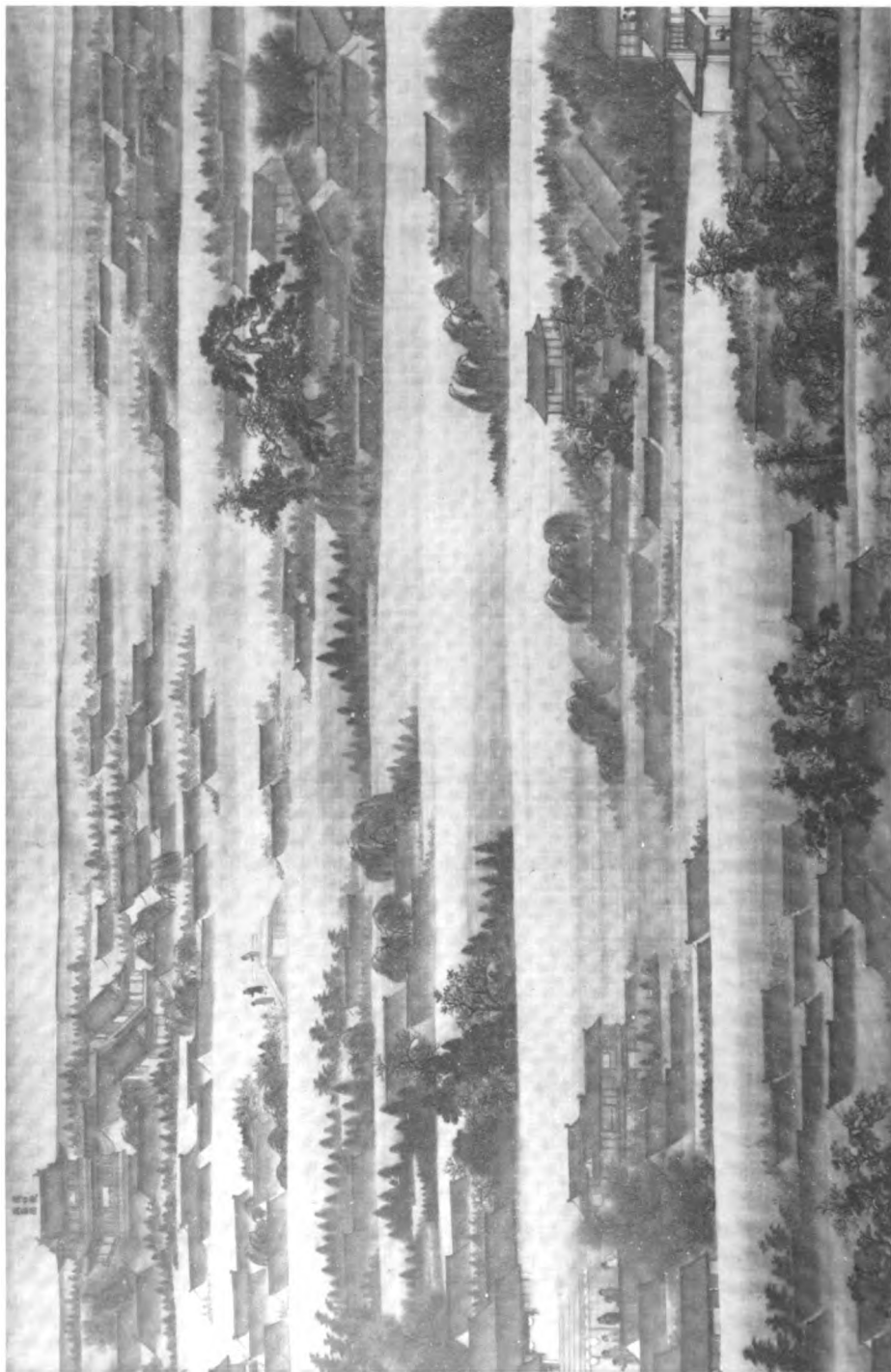


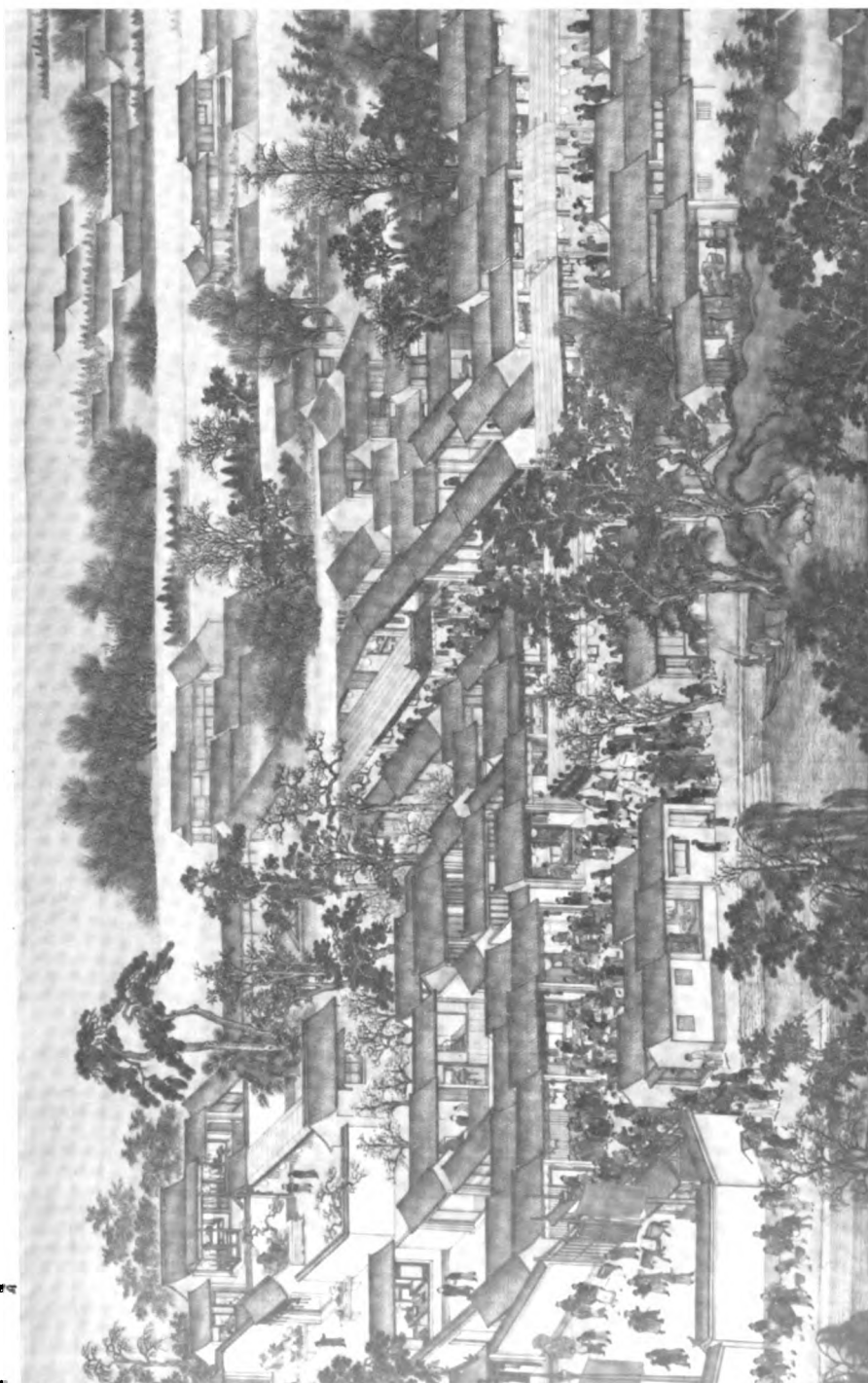


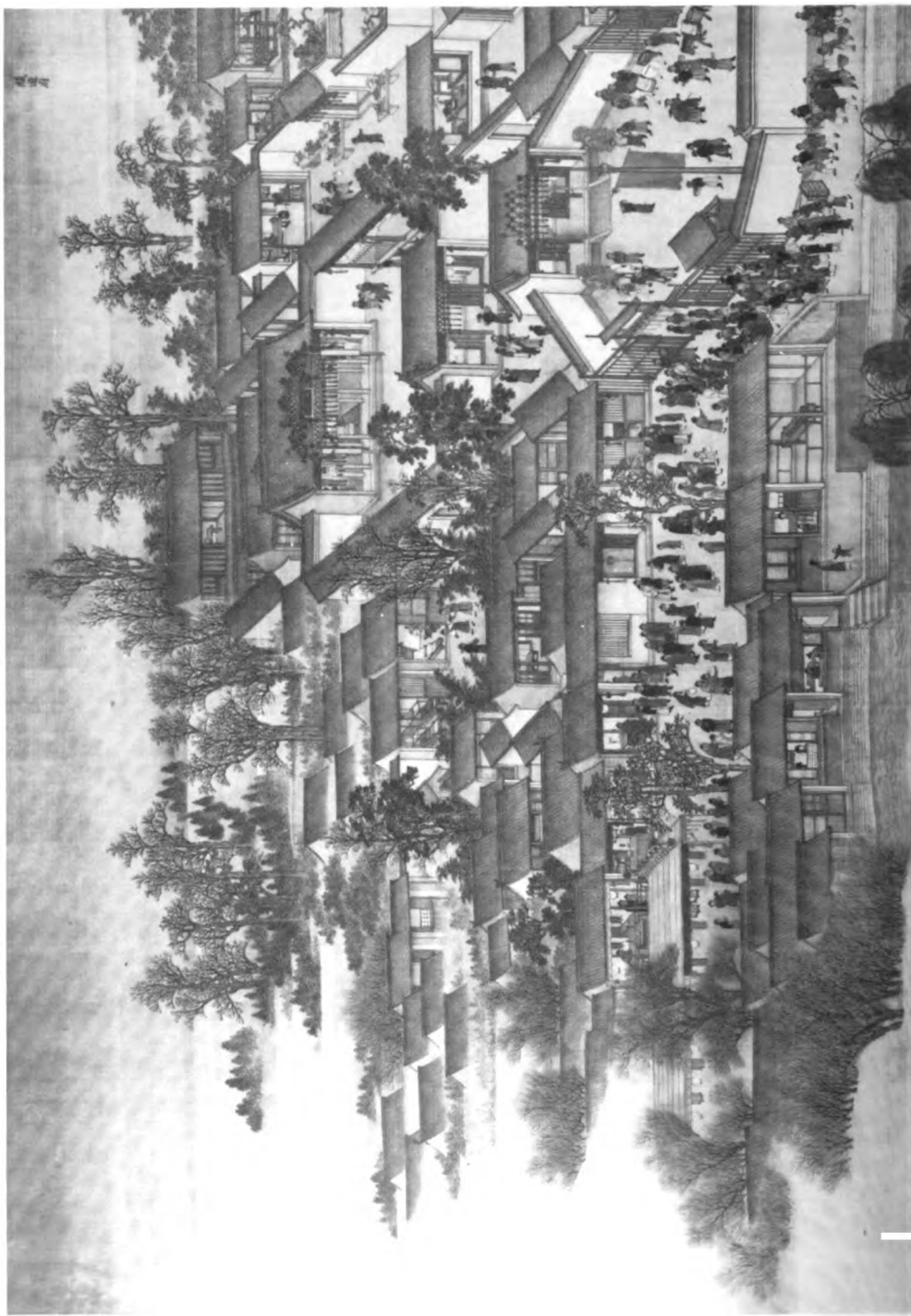












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